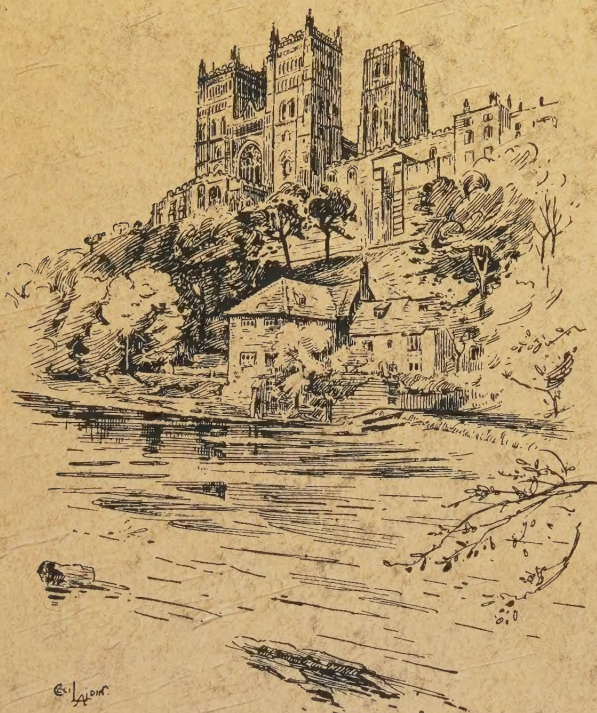
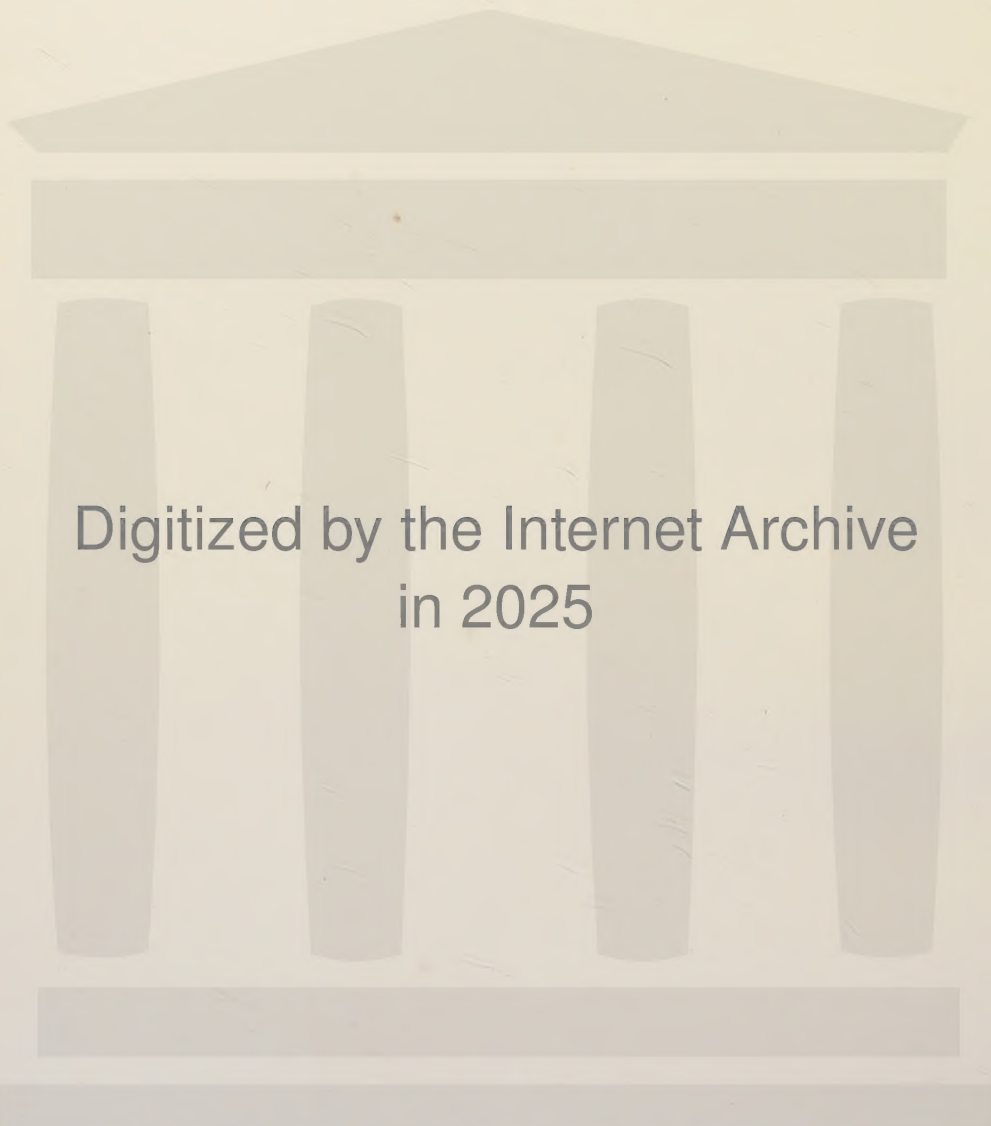


CATHEDRALS *and* ABBEY CHURCHES *of* ENGLAND



EYRE AND SPOTTISWOODE (PUBLISHERS) LIMITED
6 GREAT NEW STREET
LONDON, E.C.

CATHEDRALS AND
ABBEY CHURCHES OF
ENGLAND



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ST. PAUL'S CATHEDRAL

CATHEDRALS *and* ABBEY CHURCHES *of* ENGLAND

Illustrated by

CECIL ALDIN

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ST. PAUL'S

"Saw all the town burned, and a miserable sight of Paul's Church, with all the roofs fallen, and the body of the quire fallen into St. Fayth's."—PEPYS.

THE destruction of Old St. Paul's during the Great Fire of 1666 was, in the eyes of the people of London, a terrible climax to the destruction of the city, a seal set upon calamity and never to be broken. Yet, in a sense, tragedy was relieved rather than intensified when the flames attacked the Cathedral walls, for there was a stern fitness in the fact that one did not survive without the other; that St. Paul's and the City of London suffered as they had risen and were again to rise together.

Nevertheless, there are other than sentimental reasons for regarding the burning of Old St. Paul's as more a blessing than a curse. But for the Fire, Wren's "monument" would not dominate the City to-day; we should have instead a strange misshapen thing without character as it was without a spire. The Norman Church, of which the superb nave alone remained untouched, had lost its spire in an earlier conflagration, and was left with a stumpy square tower roughly topped with a sloping roof. The Campanile, which stood apart from the actual building, had been won at dice from Henry VIII and dismantled. The stones of the

"Charnel" had gone to build Somerset House. Shops, lodgings and a playhouse were built against the walls, which were cut into or undermined to suit the builders. Nor were these acts of vandalism in any way redeemed by the work of renovators. The whole exterior was marred by additions and decorations that were hopelessly out of keeping with the original. In the seventeenth century, for instance, Inigo Jones added a portico, which was of some beauty as a detached composition, but gave a general effect of utter incongruity. Unfortunately, he died too soon to see it fall.

The interior too had suffered. Plundered first by the Protector Somerset, it had been used under Cromwell as a cavalry barracks, and by the people as a market, a place for money changers, a promenade for gossips and idlers. A part of the vaults was converted into a wine cellar, a way being cut to it through the walls, and the chapels, made desirable by the notoriety of "Paul's Walk," were used as shops and warehouses.

These changes and defilements are interesting to note, because they reflect the spirit of the times in which they occurred, for St. Paul's, more than most Cathedrals, kept pace in development with the growth of its city. The first church on the site was built in A.D. 604 after the conversion of Sebert, King of the East Saxons. London was his royal town and "the mart of many nations resorting to it by land and sea." But the church became the scene of pagan rites under Sebert's sons, when the East Saxons relapsed from Christianity and drove their

bishop, Mellitus, from the city. Some fifty years later the country was evangelized by Cedd, brother of St. Chad, and St. Paul's restored to Christian worship. It remained the spiritual centre of the city during successive invasions by the Danes, but was destroyed by fire in the year 961. Re-building was commenced at once and St. Paul's assumed once more its proud position. But this was not to be for long. In 1087 London was swept by another fire and the new Cathedral perished.

St. Paul's rose from the ashes a second time as a witness to the increasing prosperity of London as well as to the Norman rule. The architectural plans, Stowe tells us, were so ambitious that men "judged it would never have been finished; it was then so wonderful for length and breadth"; and the process of building helped to justify pessimism by occupying nearly two centuries. But once completed it proved worthy of praise as well. Measuring some 600 ft. in length by 130 ft. in breadth and surmounted by a steeple over 500 ft. high, it towered above the surrounding houses, dominating the whole city as Wren's church does to-day.

Unhappily, however, the purity and dignity of the Norman church was not preserved for long. Repairs and additions were made in any and every style except the original, until the restorations under Charles I placed a seal upon the evil work, and finally transformed St. Paul's into an ugly monster that pleaded almost for destruction.

As changes in the character of the building harmonized with the changing spirit of London, so did events within

its walls. In national crises, St. Paul's became, as it is to-day, a centre for national supplication and thanksgiving ; men famous in peace and war found their last resting-place in the crypt or in the churchyard ; religious controversies and upheavals were marked by disputations at Paul's Cross or by scenes of violence within the Cathedral. Thus Queen Elizabeth came to St. Paul's in thanksgiving for the defeat of the Armada, taking advantage, by the way, of an opportunity to introduce the coach to London. Vandyke and Sir Philip Sidney were but two of the great men buried there. And, if further instances are needed, it was at St. Paul's that John of Gaunt championed Wickliff and that the famous anathematization of Luther by Cardinal Wolsey and the Bishop of Rochester (afterwards Cardinal Fisher) took place.

If, as has been suggested, the fire of 1087 was well-timed in so far as the building of a new Cathedral coincided with a new era in the history of London, the Great Fire was no less opportune. For, during the period of restoration, London passed through the "Glorious" Revolution and saw the final strengthening of the Established Church with the Protestant Ascendancy. At first, no more than renovation was intended, but this was found impracticable and Sir Christopher Wren was appointed head surveyor. How he succeeded in the face of what appeared to be insurmountable obstacles placed before him by an ungenerous and at times antagonistic Court, the Cathedral itself gives testimony. "*Si monumentum requiris, circumspice.*" But Wren did

more than erect a monument to his genius as an architect. He carried out the tradition of Old St. Paul's by interpreting in stone the spirit of the new London. He made the new St. Paul's the historical heart of Protestantism, as St. Peter's in Rome had become the historical heart of Catholicism.

St. Paul's was forty years in building. It emerged one of the finest specimens of English Renaissance architecture, although Wren was hampered by the rejection of his first design and the insistence of the Chapter on a more mediæval plan. Beautifully proportioned and bold in outline, it suggests power and dignity rather than the harmony of majesty and tenderness that characterized the Norman Church; yet the interior, despite ill-advised decorations and monuments, has a warmth and inspiration not incommensurate with its stateliness.

The opening of the new Cathedral in 1697—in commemoration of the Peace of Ryswick—commenced a new chapter, not only in its own history, but also in the religious and secular history of London. For St. Paul's preserves and links together Sebert's capital and the modern financial "City" which is the heart of the Empire. It is the citizens' church, as Westminster is the church of the nation, standing in relation to Lombard Street as Westminster stands to Parliament Square. Yet there is one difference between the two positions that is all important. Westminster has remained through the centuries apart from the turmoil of Government, crowning kings and receiving their bodies for burial, but seldom providing the scene for

their victories or defeats. St. Paul's, on the other hand, has lived the full life of Lombard Street, sharing its triumphs no less than its sufferings. That fact gives understanding of "Paul's Walk," and makes the miserable sight which Pepys describes, not the ruined choir of Old St. Paul's but the ruined city. For, had St. Paul's escaped the Fire, a vital link would have snapped in the chain that binds the Cathedral to London.



ST. PAUL'S:
NORTH-WEST VIEW



WESTMINSTER ABBEY

WESTMINSTER ABBEY

*" . . . thine Edward's altar-isle,
above the stormless sea of ended Kings."*

—L. I. GUINEY.

LIKE the great Cathedrals of Notre Dame and Chartres, Westminster deserves a romance rather than a history, but England has not yet given birth to a Victor Hugo or a Huysmans. Macaulay or Green, masters of imagery and apt illustration, might have attempted a three-volume history of the Abbey, and still have left it half untold, for one mind could hardly assimilate, one pen could hardly describe the tale of great men, their actions and the institutions, connected with these few acres of ground.

Consider the event of a historian, an architect, a lawyer, and a labourer entering the church together. Complete and quite individual impressions would take possession of each one of them as they admired arch and tomb and altar.

The historian, if he were a careful man, would already have at his finger ends the chief events in the Abbey's history, and he could spend his day seeking out small details, that were still large enough to throw a flood of light upon his book of knowledge.

In the east end of the Chapel of Henry VII, for instance, there is an empty niche, with the faint initials

H.R.—Henricus Rex—a reminder that the chapel was built to honour Henry VI, already a saint by repute. The niche was never filled, for the king was never canonized, but the historian remembers that the envoys at Rome, whom Henry VIII instructed to open proceedings for his divorce suit, were there in the first place to urge the canonization of the Lancastrian king. Even more interesting is the crown, now defaced, upon the grave of the Countess of Lennox, mother of Lord Darnley. James I, who erected the costly monument of Queen Elizabeth, also brought the bones of Mary Queen of Scots to the Abbey, and in order to make his father, Darnley, as much a king as he could, he placed a crown on that side of the Lennox tomb which is over Darnley's head as he kneels among his brothers. So in his own fashion James honoured the memory of his parents.

Again, in the vestibule of the Chapter House the coffin of Valerius Amandinus recalls both the fact that here was once a Roman settlement, and the legend of a temple to Apollo which was destroyed by an earthquake in 154, to be replaced by the British King Lucius with a Christian church.

A row of fishes in the encaustic tiles of the Chapter House reminds the historian of the legend of Thornea Island, and the historical beginnings of the Abbey. It seems incredible that Dean's Yard was once an osier bed, and that in 1236, owing to floods, men rowed wherries in Westminster Hall, and took horse "being forced to ryde to their chambers," as Stowe says, or that until 1825

it was possible to ford the river on foot below Westminster Bridge.

The architect can now only imagine what Edward's minster must have been like. It was the first "Norman" church in England, for the Confessor had been brought up in Normandy, and he closely copied the plan of the Abbey Church at Jumièges, Robert of Jumièges being one of his closest friends. Few of its stones are now visible, and, considering that its building was pioneer work in a new style, the words of a bull of Innocent IV may be literally true : in 1245 it was already "consumed with excessive age." In any case the immediate reputation of the Confessor as a Saint made the place of his burial a great shrine, while its character as a royal abbey was yet another incentive for his successors to rebuild it in the styles of their own periods.

With the exception of the Chapel of Henry VII the Abbey as it stands is chiefly the work of Henry III and the Abbots of the fifteenth century, who remained faithful to the original plan of a cruciform church with an apsidal end, containing ambulatory and tangential chapels. At the East End was the Lady Chapel, later the Chapel of Henry VII, which, with its separate aisles and apsidal chapels, is again virtually a church in itself. There are other interesting additions, such as the Islip Chantry, and the Western towers, constructed from the designs of Sir Christopher Wren. The architect will notice in the nave how well the symbolism of Gothic has been carried out—the giant single arches of the nave

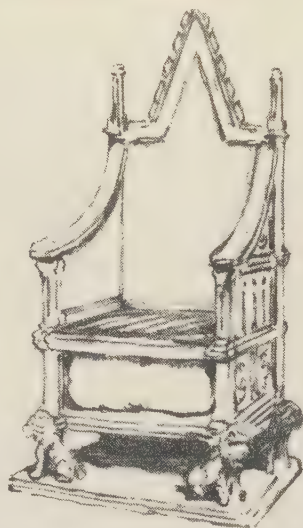
arcade symbolizing God the Father, the triforium arch with its double contained arches representing God the Son with the hypostatic union of two natures in one person, the five-pointed cusps, representing the wounds of Christ, and above it the clerestory windows, the Holy Ghost, the light of wisdom, allowing men to see the beauty of the whole.

In the architecture of Westminster are blended all that is best in French with all that is best in English Gothic. By no mere coincidence Rheims, the coronation church of France, resembles the coronation church of England, for the Henrician architects went to Rheims for their inspiration. The church was built to a height three times its width, a ratio common in France but exceptional in England; the pinnacles weighting the buttresses were here introduced into England for the first time and the magnificent facade of the north transept was of wholly French design. But in the length of the transepts, the ribbing of the vaults, the moulding of capitals, English architects broke away from their French models. The triforia of great depth and width were so made to serve as galleries for spectators on royal occasions.

The lawyer would see in Westminster the native home of the English Constitution. More and more definitely under the post-Conquest kings, the Courts and Government Offices became centred there. To-day the executive at Whitehall and the legislature at St. Stephen's still cluster around that Thames-side island upon which the royal abbey and the royal palace were first built. In

the chapel of the Pyx on the east side of the Cloister Garth was the Treasury of the Exchequer, the Pyx being in this case a box wherein were kept the standard coins of the realm. At Westminster, too, was a celebrated sanctuary for refugees from public or private anger, used on two occasions by Elizabeth of York who gave birth there to the prince, afterwards Edward V.

But of all these memorials in the Abbey precincts, the Chapter House and the Refectory have an especially English glory as the early meeting places of Parliament, where privilege and procedure began to be hammered out. An item of 1384 in the monk treasurer's accounts has a pleasing ring for our day—the sum of five shillings put down in the refectory account for a table to replace one broken “in the time of Parliament.” In 1294 there was a dramatic scene when the Dean of St. Paul's fell dead in the midst of a protest against the extravagance of royal demands. In the Refectory the impeachment of Piers Gaveston was begun; in the Chapter House, in 1292, John Balliol swore by the Black Rood of St. Margaret that he would make no further claims upon the Scottish Crown; and another appropriate thought for our day is the probability that a protest was made there against the Treaty of Northampton of 1328, which



WESTMINSTER ABBEY:
CORONATION CHAIR.

provided for the return to Scotland of the Coronation stone, and which the citizens prevented the sheriff from carrying out. Sir Thomas More, that great Englishman, acted as Speaker of the Commons in the Chapter House, and the last meeting there took place on the day on which Henry VIII died, Edward VI presenting them with the Chapel of St. Stephen in the palace of Westminster as their meeting place.

Men of various vocations and professions, then, might spend their days with the Abbey stones, each drawing from them only that which interested himself. But could it be said that the labourer, ignorant of architecture and of law, would benefit less than they? It is not enough for the architect to have traced out this cunning plan, for the historian to have described this famous building, for the poet to have sung its beauties. Above all this, there is something that no pencil, nor prose, nor poetry can describe. Is it not possible that of all these men, the unlearned might be filled with the deepest satisfaction, exalted by an emotion superior to patriotism and as indefinable; an emotion which Englishmen acknowledged when they chose Westminster as the grave of the Unknown Warrior, whom they buried among the Kings?



BATH ABBEY

BATH ABBEY

"A sword seen in the streets of Bath would raise as great an alarm as a mad dog."—SHERIDAN'S "THE RIVALS."

FIRST impressions are lasting. A mention of Bath Abbey recalls vividly to mind the quaintly sculptured "Jacob's Ladder" carved on the faces of the twin turrets on either side of the great West Window ; and, if one attempted to summon a more general vision, it would inevitably contain the row of Bath chairs always drawn up before the West Front. Perhaps these memories are misleading ; yet they do seem to have a value, for they interpret the history of the Abbey in a way of their own.

The Roman Aquæ Sulis, the modern Bath, has little history apart from the mineral springs from which it derived both name and prosperity ; and the growth of the Abbey corresponded with the growth of the city. This was a case in which the city did not develop around its church ; rather, the fame of the baths attracted the Bishops hither from Wells. But for their continued importance, the Abbey might long ago have been suffered to fall into decay, and the beautiful church of Bishop King, whose vision is expressed in its strange and dignified facade, would now be nothing but a ruin.

If we try to trace the origin of Bath as a settlement, we can go no further with certainty than to the Roman

occupation, although there is a legend that a British prince, expelled from his father's court, cured himself of leprosy by bathing in the waters, and founded the colony which it may be presumed existed in pre-Roman times. The early history of the Abbey site is equally shadowy, with little or no evidence to show whether it was occupied by the temple of which fragments have been found, or by other buildings in the Roman town. Indeed, it is impossible to describe with any show of authority events that took place long after the Roman legions were recalled. We know that a nunnery existed here some time during the seventh and eighth centuries, and may assume that it was destroyed by the Danes, but no records have come down to us of its constitution or importance.

A date that can be fixed definitely is 775, when Offa, King of Mercia, established a college of secular canons, which was replaced in the tenth century by a Benedictine monastery. In the Saxon church—destroyed twice by fire before 914—the coronation of King Edgar took place, an event celebrated in part by a poetic eulogy in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle. At this time, Bath was a royal demesne, and we may be sure that the favour shown to it by kings, nobles, and prelates was due in great measure to the curative properties of the hot springs.

With the accession to the English throne of William Rufus, a new era opened in the history of the Abbey. During the rebellion of 1088 in favour of Robert

Mowbray, Bath had been pillaged and the Abbey Church so damaged that it was either completely destroyed or had to be demolished before the re-building could begin. Thus, when John de Villula, Bishop of Tours, and chaplain to the King, was translated to the see of Wells, he saw the opportunity to erect a vast, new Cathedral. Bishop John, described by William de Malmesbury as "a physician qualified by practice rather than by study," was attracted to Bath probably by the waters; at any rate he secured the grants of the Abbey and the town from William, and, ostensibly because Bath was the largest town in the diocese, removed his "stool" thither. He lost no time in carrying out his plan, the ambitious nature of which may be gauged from the fact that the completed nave alone was as large as the present church.

He built also a fine palace, and two new baths within the monastery precincts. One of these, called the Abbot's bath, was fed from the King's bath, and was dedicated by the Bishop-physician to the use of the public. The other was fed by a spring of its own, and was designed for the use of the Prior. Traditions of the wonderful efficacy of the latter bath lingered long in the town, and various attempts were made to recover it after the monastic buildings had fallen into decay. This was never achieved with certainty; but as its position was completely lost, it is quite possible that it is in use to-day.

Bishop de Villula died in 1122, and was buried in the Presbytery. Fifteen years later a disastrous fire broke out

in the city, causing so much damage to the Cathedral that Bishop Robert, who had been appointed to the see in 1135, decided to carry out certain measures of reconstruction, instead of merely restoring the fabric. His work was hampered by the controversy which was becoming more and more acrimonious between the chapters of Bath and Wells. The canons of Wells had never reconciled themselves to the removal of the Bishop's "stool," although de Villula's action had received royal approbation from Henry I, and all Bishop Robert's efforts to promote a peaceful settlement were unavailing. His successors were not more fortunate. Wells had secured a partial victory when Bishop Robert returned from Bath, but appeals and counter appeals to Rome resulted, in 1245, in an arrangement whereby the diocese received the title of "Bath and Wells"; the Bishop remained at Wells, and matters of election were left to delegates chosen by the clergy of the two cities.

The effects of this dispute were felt for many years at Bath, for the bishops retained the Abbey, and of course its revenues. As a result the Prior assumed the duties of the Abbot, discipline became lax, and the diverting of the Abbey funds to other purposes caused the church to fall into disrepair and finally into decay.

When Bishop Oliver King was appointed to the see in 1495, Bath Abbey Church was little more than a ruin. Four years later he visited the city, and during his meditation one evening he had a vision; like Jacob, he saw angels ascending and descending a ladder let down

from Heaven, while a voice was heard saying "Let an Oliver stablish the Crown and a King build the Church." Taking this to be a divine command, Bishop King applied himself to the restoration of the Abbey Church, and commenced building in 1500, actively assisted by Prior Birde, whose memory is perpetuated by the beautiful chantry on the south side of the sanctuary. But the Bishop never saw his plans completed, for three years later he died, having raised only the south and west walls.

His work was continued by Prior Birde, who devoted all his wealth to it, and who died in 1525, poor and blind. It was completed by Prior Holway, his successor, some eight years later.

Built in the Perpendicular style, which had then reached its zenith, the church impresses one by reason of its perfect symmetry, loftiness, and graceful lines. The great West Front with its carved representation of Bishop King's vision, known popularly as "Jacob's Ladder," holds the attention, on account of the workmanship as well as its interpretation, while the interior with its high clerestory windows and the beautiful fan tracery in the vaulting of the choir seems to personify the mating of strength with delicacy. Yet it was this building, fresh from the hands of its craftsmen, that Henry VIII offered to the citizens of Bath for five hundred marks; that the citizens would not or could not buy.

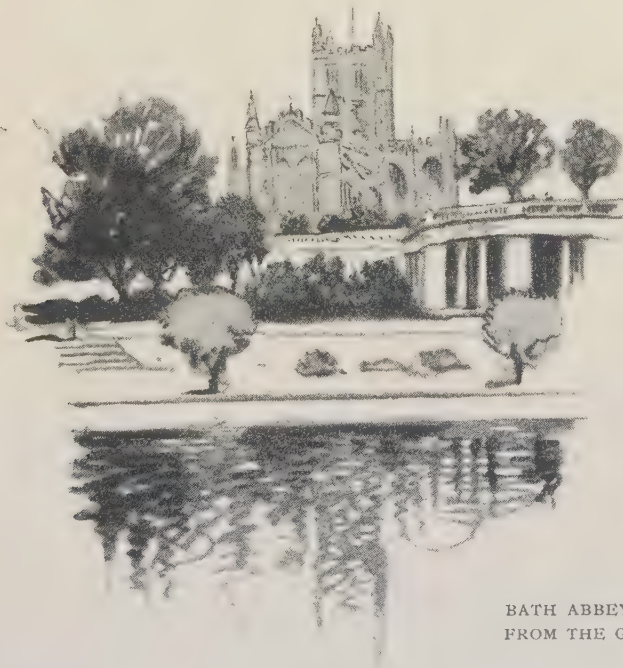
Prior Holway had scarcely completed the task left to him by his predecessor when he subscribed to the King's supremacy and, in 1539, surrendered the monastery to

the Crown. The King's Commissioners, having failed to effect a sale, disposed of all the glass, iron, and lead and finally discovered a purchaser for the roofless and empty-windowed church in one Humphrey Colles, from whom it passed through intermediaries to the town. On thus gaining possession the citizens appear to have awakened to a sense of their responsibility; a comprehensive scheme of restoration was entered into in 1572, and successfully terminated during the episcopate of Bishop Montague in the early part of the following century.

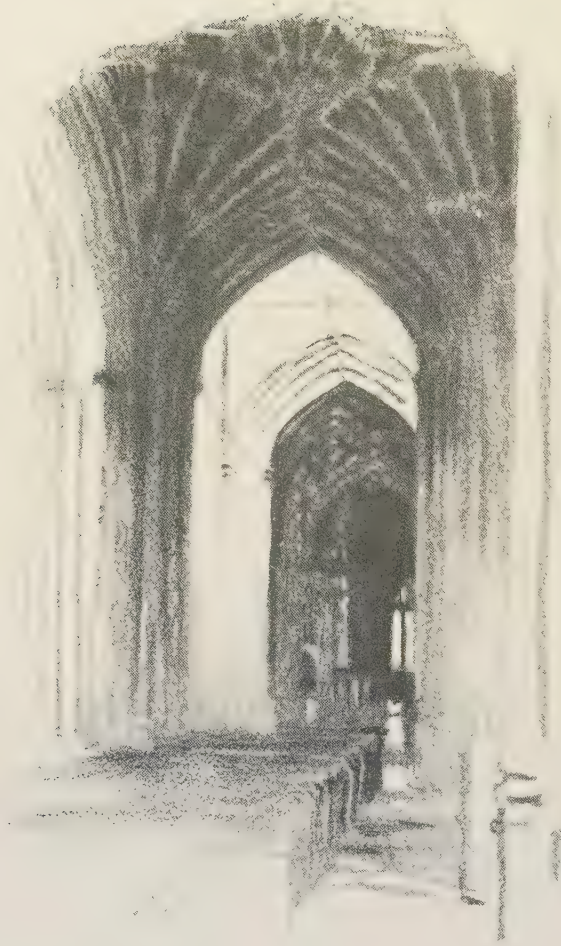
The period embracing the building and repair of Bishop King's church was marked by a withdrawal from the influence of the baths. For the first time in its history the Abbey was regarded independently of its associations with the city; its re-edification was for Bishop King an act of piety, for Bishop Montague an act of reparation. But with the rise of Bath as a fashionable watering-place in the eighteenth century the new order gave place to the old. Attendance at the Abbey services became as important a social obligation as a visit to the Pump Room, and was undertaken probably with as little sincerity. No doubt members of the Sunday congregation, who were addicted to diaries, made entries similar to one by Pepys in which he remarked on "the many brave people" present, but confessed to sleeping during the greater part of the sermon.

The subjects of Beau Nash did not content themselves, however, with transforming the nave into a decorous

“Paul’s Walk.” Some built houses against the walls on one side ; some had monuments and mural tablets erected on the other. The houses fortunately did not survive, but the monuments are still to be seen emphasizing by contrast the graceful beauty of pier and ornament. Some day perhaps a reformer will arise to replace these incongruities with plain tablets perpetuating the memory of the dead, but restoring the dignity of their resting-place. Still there is one tomb that might be spared to express in a permanent form the message of the chairs before the West Front. For the memory of Beau Nash is a memory of the Pump Room, of the springs that first attracted Bishop de Villula to Bath, and to his monument we may go to learn the story of the Abbey.



BATH ABBEY :
FROM THE GARDENS



BATH ABBEY:
SOUTH AISLE



EXETER CATHEDRAL

EXETER

*"In the stone that battered him Stephen stands
And Peter himself is petrified."*—G. K. CHESTERTON.

EXETER is a very charming city of some extent, well-placed on high ground above the river Exe, and the Devon hills can be glimpsed from the end of nearly every street. It is a city placed upon a hill, and before seeing it, one visions a clustered town, dominated at the highest point by the peaked roof and towers of the Cathedral. But this, unfortunately, is not so ; the interesting red sandstone fragment of Rougemont Castle, with the pretty public park which now marks the Castle grounds, crowns the summit ; the Cathedral is put rather low, and as it is not lofty in itself, seems lost and hidden away, until we turn the corner and come full upon it.

This is a great pity, for this building, though not large, is exquisite in proportion and plan. The West Front, a little overpowering at close range, demands a long approach in order that its luxuriant beauty may be appreciated. Here is no soaring spire, as at Salisbury ; no massive grandeur of façade, as at Wells. Exeter needs none of these ; but she does need higher ground, surroundings more related to her character, more room to view the long slope of the roof, flanked by the unusual transeptal towers, and the great geometrical west window, behind the many-figured stone screen, to give

an effect at once as graceful as Salisbury's, and as majestic as that of Wells.

The promise of the exterior is fulfilled when we step within, for the nave, though it lacks height, is instantly impressive, with its clustered marble pillars and heavy groined roof. The organ, although it breaks the vista, does not block it. The windows exhibit a variety of decorated tracery, a variety which culminates in the Early Perpendicular of the great east light. The tall, splendid Perpendicular arch is not seen here; in place of its poetry we have a sonorous prose, full of richness and dignity.

The plan is Norman, and the transeptal towers are also Norman; but somewhat as at Winchester, where the twelfth-century church was converted to the Perpendicular, so here the Norman pillars have been brought up to date by the fourteenth-century builders, and Exeter is our most complete example of Decorated architecture.

The history of Exeter is ancient but obscure. It is the Roman Isca Dumnoniorum, later called Exencæstre, and the Saxons, apparently, had an alternative name for it, Monketon, "from the great number of monks in it," though little enough is known of these monks to-day. St. Boniface, the great apostle of Germany, is supposed to have been educated here in the seventh century, but even this is not certain, for, as all England witnesses, tradition was broken again and again by the Danes, until Canute, in conquering the Saxons, was conquered by the Church, and restored the houses of religion that his ancestors had sacked and destroyed.

The first historical foundation was that of Athelstan, who endowed the monastery of St. Peter and Mary, and gave to it "the third part of those many relics which he had caused to be collected beyond the seas, some pieces of Our Lord's Cross, of his sepulchre, garment, cradle . . ." This monastery was re-established by Edgar, and again by Canute, and the third foundation lasted until the Bishop's "stool" was transferred hither, in 1046, when the monks of St. Peter's were transferred to Westminster.

Thirty years before Athelstan made his gift to Exeter, the kingdom of the West Saxons had been in a sorry state as far as its hierarchy was concerned ; so much so that Pope Formosus threatened King Edward the Elder with the curse of the Church unless he restored the bishoprics. As a result, seven Bishops were consecrated in one day, among them the Bishops of Cornwall and Crediton. Under Edward the Confessor, these two sees were united, and Exeter became the seat of the Bishopric, with Leofric as first Bishop.

The Saxon church in which Edward and his queen led Leofric to the High Altar, "each taking him by the hand," is thought to have occupied the site of the present Lady Chapel. There is an entry in the Chronicle of Exeter Cathedral which runs thus : "Anno Domini M^o centesimo xij primo fundata est Exon. ecclesia." That is, at this date Bishop Warlewast, nephew of William the Conqueror, began to build. However, his work was undone by the siege of Stephen in 1136, and the next Bishop, Chichester, commenced the building on the

present plan. The Norman church was completed by Bishop Marshall before 1206.

This church had no transepts, and the towers stood separate from the rest. Bishop Quivil, the first of three great prelate-architects, broke down their inner walls, built arches, and converted the tower-space into transepts, by joining them to the nave. He also pierced large windows for the sake of light.

Bishop Quivil was the master-mind of Exeter Cathedral. He conceived it, almost as it stands, and although he lived to see but little actually in stone, his successors completed his plans. This is apparent in the unity of the present building, which is not, like Ely, the gradual product of similar minds, but rather the dream of one mind fulfilled.

The names of Bishops Stapledon and Grandisson stand with that of Bishop Quivil in the record of Exeter. Bishop Stapledon was a many-sided man, an ecclesiastic, an architect, a patron of learning, and a statesman. He founded Exeter College in Oxford, which was at first called Stapledon's Inn, and paid for his fidelity to the unhappy King Edward II, with his life. With his brother, Sir Richard Stapledon, he was beheaded near the north door of St. Paul's, the bodies being hastily buried by the people in a heap of sand back of the Bishop's house without Temple Bar; but soon after, by the Queen's order, they were removed to Exeter, and now lie enclosed in two splendid tombs in the north aisle.

The choir was Bishop Stapledon's work, and Bishop Grandisson completed the "modernizing" of Bishop Marshall's nave, and began the West Front. About this "mighty prelate" there are somewhat conflicting accounts. It is said that Grandisson refused the Archbishop of Canterbury admission to the Cathedral, on the ground that he was not his ecclesiastical superior, and when the Archbishop attempted to enter, met him at the West door with an armed force. Whether this is the method he generally used in "sequestering himself from all idle persons," and in "persuading his whole clergy to bequeath their goods to the building . . ." as we find in another description of him, it is impossible to say. But in one way or another he exercised his powers of persuasion upon the wealthy citizens of Exeter, and collected a large sum which he put into the adornment of his church, the final result, though not completed in his lifetime, being the richly decorated western front, with its sculptured screen, bearing statues of kings, bishops, nobles, prophets, apostles, and saints, and many figures whose identification is now doubtful.

The Reformers, ruthless in their destruction of the interior, seem to have spared the screen, and save for a few statues that have crumbled away and been replaced, it stands much as Grandisson and Brantyngham left it. They were not so kind to the tomb of Bishop Grandisson, once standing within the chapel of Saint Radegunde in the space between the screen and the West Front proper, for they broke it up and scattered the bones enshrined

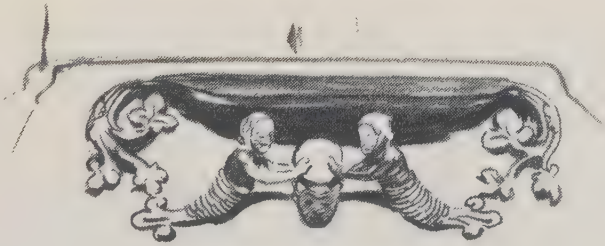
there. There are many pre-Reformation tombs in the Cathedral still, mostly of its Bishops, but they are much mutilated. Perhaps the most remarkable monument remaining is the skeleton-effigy in the Sylke chantry, which is not at all unique, for there are several such effigies to be seen on mediæval tombs; but that of William Sylke, sub-chanter in the fifteenth century, is worthy of special note, the shrouded skeleton being very finely expressed in the marble.

During the Commonwealth, a brick wall was built across the middle of the Cathedral, a doorway was made through the East Window, and the ministers of two denominations held services on either side of the wall, in "East Peter's" and "West Peter's." The cloisters were destroyed at the same time. At the Restoration this wall was taken down again, and a fine organ built, which still remains, much renovated. But when Sir Gilbert Scott took charge of the fabric, he found it terribly racked and decayed, even the marble of the pillars in the nave having been broken away in places.

Opinions differ very much as to the artistic value of Sir Gilbert's re-buildings, re-paintings and re-facings. But it is quite possible that when the three Bishops "modernized" the Cathedral church of Exeter, and made it conform to the decorated taste of their time, there were many who sighed for the fine old Norman work. It does not show regard for any monument to leave it in a crumbling condition, and the mediæval builders seem, on the whole, to have been too progressive to have had

much regard for what their predecessors had done. Perhaps the secret of Sir Gilbert's failure lay in the fact that he was a reactionary ; he was a strong supporter of the movement in favour of modern Gothic, a movement which did not produce anything very fine in English architecture, until another Gilbert Scott designed the new Cathedral at Liverpool, which is perhaps the first original conception in Gothic architecture since the Reformation.

Sir Gilbert was responsible for the renovation of most of the great Gothic cathedrals, and he did it more or less well, without much inspiration. Exeter is a very fair example of his work. He removed the high pews that disfigured and blocked the nave, and preserved the greater part of the fourteenth-century rood-screen, at a time when its removal was strongly urged. If in other parts of the church his touch was not so happy, let it stand as his justification that he did restore the nave to the grandeur of its building. On entering by the West door, one is instantly struck with its strength and beauty, and, though one may pass no farther in, a journey is rewarded by the sight of it.



EXETER CATHEDRAL : A MISERERE SEAT



EXETER CATHEDRAL,
FROM THE PALACE GROUNDS



ELY CATHEDRAL

ELY

" . . . No one comes to Ely for a few hours and carries anything away, whereas no man lives in Ely for a year without beginning to write a book. I do not say that all are published, but I swear that all are begun."—HILAIRE BELLOC.

ROMANCE attaches to the name of Ely, the island in the fens, the ancient refuge of Etheldreda, and celebrated as the stronghold of Hereward in the days of William the Conqueror. The fen country to-day is unromantic enough, with its flat, well-drained, well-cultivated fields. It is difficult to imagine Etheldreda hiding from her impatient lord on this tamed and almost treeless plain ; or Hereward dodging the Norman soldiery among the secret paths and streams. But on the spot where the Saxon princess built her church and the Saxon thane his camp, the Cathedral stands, with its dominating Western Tower and unusual Lantern, and is itself the storehouse of old memories.

St. Etheldreda, Foundress and Patron, received the island with her marriage portion when she was contracted to Tonbert of the Fenmen. It had always been her wish to take the veil, and when Tonbert died and her father gave her, against her will, to Egfrid of Northumbria, she did not weaken in her resolution, but lived apart from

him, pleading constantly for her freedom. Eventually she obtained a half-hearted assent, and left the court ; but Egfrid, regretting that he had let her go, pursued her, whereupon Etheldreda took refuge in her island in the fens. Many of her own people joined her, and in 673 she founded a monastery at Ely, with houses for monks and nuns, over which she ruled wisely for seven years. Her story is told in stone carvings in the Cathedral, but the mere fragment of her splendid shrine remains ; not the “white marble coffin, most beautifully wrought, and neatly covered with a lid of the same sort of stone,” which, Bede tells us, was found by the brethren in “a small abandoned city” and brought to Ely to enclose the body of the Abbess. The present shrine is Decorated work, and said to have been added to the earlier one by Alan de Walsingham, designer of the Lantern Tower.

Portions of Saxon work may be found in the walls of neighbouring prebendal houses, and it has been said that they are the remains of St. Etheldreda’s convent, but it is more probable that these fragments belong to a second building, erected in 970. The Danes, to whom the fen country presented little difficulty, attacked Ely in 870, killed most of the religious, and plundered the church. A few escaped, and creeping back to the ruined buildings after the Danes had gone, carried out their rule as best they could, until, with the monastic reform of the tenth century, a new foundation was made by the Benedictines.

The record of a second Danish visit to Ely is found among other places in a ballad, which tells how this time there was no burning, for they came in peace :

“Cnut was proceeding up the river . . . the voices of the monks so sweetly singing our Ladye’s praises were wafted across the water, and in the heartfelt joy which he experienced the king burst forth into song :

Merrie sungen the monks by Ely,
Tha Cnut King roweth by ;
Row, Knights, near the land,
And hear we these monks sang.”

Canute was a friend to Abbot Elsi, who placed in his church “the magnificent image of Our Blessed Ladye, seated on a throne, with her divine son in her arms, which had been wrought in a marvellous manner, in silver and gold.” This much-lauded image, which was probably made of wood and covered with plates of silver and gold, did not survive the troubles of the Conquest ; it was taken, along with all the gold and silver ornaments of the church, to pay the fines exacted from the rebels of Ely by the Conqueror.

Hereward’s resistance to William, though well-planned, had been short-lived. Ely was in those days a natural stronghold, isolated by swamp lands, best approached by a labyrinth of streams. The unfertile country offered little sustenance to such an army as a conqueror would need, and Hereward took full advantage of his opportunity. The monks at first gave him their entire sympathy and assistance, and owing to their accurate

knowledge of the fens, his small force of Saxons and Danes defied the Normans for several years, and might have continued to do so, if the monks had not at last turned against them. William is supposed to have induced this change of heart by sequestrating the Abbey lands outside the island ; but it is more than possible that the brutal sack of Peterborough Abbey by Hereward's Danish allies had something to do with the Prior's decision to give him up, and the fine he paid, which stripped them of all the treasures of their sanctuary, proves that the monks were not much the gainers.

The building of the present Cathedral was not commenced until late in the same century. The first Norman builder, Abbot Simeon, retained the Saxon structure, and contented himself with enlarging it ; but with the growth of power came ambitious schemes, and the stronghold of Hereward went the way of St. Etheldreda's shelter.

Abbot Simeon's plain Norman work may still be seen in the lowest story of the transepts. Abbot Richard, his successor and the last Abbot of Ely, set to work in earnest, extending the plan of Simeon independently of its connexion with the early buildings, and in 1106 transferred the bodies of St. Etheldreda, St. Saxburga, St. Ermenilda, and St. Withburga, the first four abbesses of the first monastery, from the old church to the new.

Three years later Ely became a bishopric, and through two centuries the work of construction went

steadily on. The last Abbots had planned and partly built the main transepts, the first Bishops now planned and built the nave. Geoffrey Ridel, the third Bishop, completed the western transept and began the western tower, and thus by the end of the twelfth century the Norman plan of Ely was laid down, much as we see it to-day.

When Bishop Eustachius added the Galilee porch, the great Gothic era had begun. Bishop Northwolde built the Presbytery, and erected a tall western tower with a lofty spire of wood, which was later completed in stone. In 1252 the Cathedral was dedicated to St. Mary, St. Peter, and St. Etheldreda, in the presence of Henry III, Prince Edward, and a great concourse of nobles and clergy.

The Norman central tower fell in 1322, and in its falling ruined part of the choir. This was seemingly a great disaster, but it proved the contrary, for the need of reconstruction gave play to the remarkable genius of the Sub-Prior, Alan de Walsingham, and the Octagon Tower and Lantern, the crowning glory of Ely Cathedral, put the finishing touch to this finely-proportioned and consistent product of so many minds.

De Walsingham was not the last to build at Ely, for there is some Perpendicular work to be seen, but it is not structurally obvious. Unlike most of the mediæval architects, de Walsingham adapted his style to what had gone before, and his successors must have felt that he had set his seal upon the work, and feared to spoil it by

addition. This restraint acted even upon the architects of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, so that this Church, much and carefully restored by them, has perhaps suffered least of all. Moreover, the organ is so disposed that the vista is unspoiled, and that is unusual in English Cathedrals.

The plan of Ely is a very perfect one, and the only irregularity, the Lady Chapel, is really quite a separate building, and thus interferes with it as little as possible. This chapel also was designed by the Sub-Prior, and carried out by one John of Wisbeach. It is very beautiful, with elaborate stone-carving and tracery in Decorated style, and is said to have had nearly two hundred images, within and without ; for this reason it was not appreciated by the Reformers, and has been badly ravaged.

The Cathedral appears to most advantage from the south, for not only is the Lantern not obscured, but the grandeur of the whole outline is displayed. The north-west transept is missing, though the foundations exist, and the lack spoils the symmetry of the West Front. But from the south this is not apparent ; also, there are no large buildings in the way, and the Cathedral stands up well from its surroundings ; so that we can see it as it should be seen, well-poised and complete. From the fine West Tower the eye travels naturally to the Lantern, at the intersection of main transepts and nave, and its perfection of design is at once evident, not only in itself, but in its relation to the rest. The dome is not a feature

of Gothic architecture, and yet it was, in effect, a dome that de Walsingham put in place of the Norman tower, justifying his audacity by adapting it reasonably to Gothic form. It is as beautiful within as without, and from within we may more easily understand how the structure was evolved.

Instead of building on the four piers of the intersection, the architect destroyed them, and took as foundation the eight surrounding piers of transepts, nave, and choir ; vaulting, windows, and shafts are good Gothic of the period, and the use of an octagon further preserves the style. But what appears to the eye from within is a dome with a cupola, and structurally this has been obtained.

De Walsingham rebuilt the section of the choir ruined by the fall of the old tower, and proved his power of adaptation by successfully blending his own Decorated style with the Early English piers and vaulting of Bishop Northwolde's time. The choir stalls are from his design, as one might guess from their excellence.

One is tempted to think of what might have been the result if all Ely Cathedral had tumbled down, instead of the central tower only. We would certainly have lost a great deal ; a splendid example of Norman and Early English architecture, and much history. There would, moreover, have been no opportunity for Alan de Walsingham to adapt, and that was a part of his peculiar genius. But it is evident that he was original, broad-

minded, and absolutely sure. He was a first-class engineer and a consummate artist ; his imagination was rich and his sense of proportion exact. A Cathedral of his building would have been a work of art such as all the rest of England could not boast.



ELY CATHEDRAL :
SOUTH VIEW



PETERBOROUGH CATHEDRAL

PETERBOROUGH

"Such stones were laid as that eight yoke of oxen could scarcely draw one of them."—HUGH CANDIDUS.

THESE is a curious old portrait in Peterborough, which, by its position and grotesque execution, holds the attention of every visitor to the Cathedral. Hanging immediately to the left of the door leading from the West porch to the nave, it represents in full length a stocky, bearded little figure in jacket and trunk hose; an old man bearing keys and a spade in his hands, and standing before a pillar against which rests a pick and a skull. This is Robert Scarlett, sexton and gravedigger, who occupied the two posts during the greater part of a troubled century, undisturbed by stress and change in the very Cathedral he guarded. Scarlett died in 1591 at the age of 98, having seen the end of the Middle Ages, the Reformation, and the hey-day of Elizabeth's reign. And in his story we find a link between two periods in the history of Peterborough, between the passing of the Abbey and the creation of the Cathedral.

An epitaph beneath the portrait tells us that

"He had interd two Queens within this place
And this townes house-holders in his lives space
Twice over."

One of these queens was Mary, Queen of Scots, whose body, later removed to Westminster by James I,

was brought to Peterborough after her execution at Fotheringay. The other was Catharine of Aragon, who died at Kimbolton in 1536, and whose interment by Scarlett proved to be an event of importance in the history of Peterborough, if we accept the theory that the presence of the tomb served as a protection against the rapacity of the King's Commissioners.

When Abbot John Chambers surrendered his charge in 1541, the treasures of the Abbey church did not go with those of Canterbury and the other monastic houses to swell the coffers of Henry VIII. Instead, a part of the revenue derived from the Dissolution was used for the creation of a new see, having Peterborough for its Cathedral city, and the subservient Chambers for its first Bishop. It is generally assumed that Henry acted thus to show respect for the burial place of Queen Catharine; if not because he loved her, at least because he remembered her dying plea that she might be "used with honour." But though this explanation is sufficient, it is possible to find further motives for the King's action in the history of Peterborough itself, and particularly in the story of the foundation by Peada and Wulfhere.

Peada, the son of Penda, became king of Mercia in 655, and, being converted to Christianity, resolved to build a Minster to the honour of St. Peter, the work being committed to a monk named Saxulf. Within a year Peada was slain, but his brother Wulfhere, who succeeded to the throne, gave "gold and silver, land and possessions" to Saxulf to assist the building, and on

the day of its consecration solemnly confirmed the grants he had made in the presence of the Archbishop of Canterbury and the chief nobility. Then, says the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, he "laid God's curse and the curse of all saints, and all Christian folks, on whosoever undid anything that there was done."

Immediately after the consecration of the Minster, Wulfhere sent messengers to Rome with an account of what had taken place and a request for the ratification of his charter. This was done, the Papal writ declaring "If any one breaketh anything of this, St. Peter with his sword destroy him. Whosoever holdeth it, St. Peter with heaven's key undo him the kingdom of heaven." Again, when Wulfhere died and Ethelred became king, the charter was re-affirmed and ratified by the Pope, with the threat that "whoso breaketh it, then be he excommunicated and thrust down with Judas, and with all the devils in hell, except he come to repentance."

This curse of Pope and King was invoked two centuries later when the Danes destroyed Croyland Abbey and proceeded to Medhamstead, as Peterborough then was known. The monks offering resistance, a brother of the Danish leader, Hulba, was wounded, whereupon an entrance was forced, and Hulba slew the entire community, afterwards sacking the Minster. Until the latter part of the tenth century Medhamstead remained desolate. Then St. Ethelwold, Bishop of Winchester, determined to rebuild the Minster, the ruins of which had become an enclosure for cattle.

Ethelwold's church, small in comparison with the present structure, but richly endowed and privileged anew by King Edgar, assumed after its consecration a unique position among the Abbeys of England. Wulfhere's "gift" and the Papal writ that followed it had raised the Minster to a place of pilgrimage for those who were unable to make the journey to Rome, and Edgar, recalling this dignity, is said to have wept with joy at the consecration "that he had a second Rome within his own kingdom." It is not difficult to understand then why the Abbey, having given the town its name of Peterborough, provided later the secondary title, "Gildenborough." Nor is it surprising that the sack of the Minster by the Danes in alliance with Hereward the Wake and the disastrous fire that swept over Peterborough in 1117 were followed by the immediate erection of a new church on a much nobler scale.

It was during the rule of Abbot John de Sais that the foundations of the present Cathedral were laid, and although he died before the work had been carried beyond the nave, his successors, de Vecti and William de Waterville, built the transepts, raised the central tower, and pushed the nave so far westward that it was finished before the end of the century. In this way a uniformity of design not too common in English Cathedrals was attained; but with the addition of the West Front the influence of a new Gothic style became apparent. The West Front, one of the most beautiful of its kind, and a specimen of pure early English, is the architectural glory

of the Cathedral, a fit symbol of its eminence and proud traditions.

The privileges accorded to Peterborough in Saxon times are not likely to have been forgotten when the church was consecrated by Grosseteste in 1238, or during the three centuries that elapsed before the Dissolution. At any rate we may assume that Henry VIII was familiar with the story of Wulfhere's charter, of the privileges granted to those who made Peterborough a place of pilgrimage, of the curse laid upon all who took away the Abbey lands or desecrated the church. He may have seen in the defeat of the Danes or in the fate of Hereward a working out of this curse; he may have seen in the identification of the Minster as "a second Rome" an opportunity to emphasize before his subjects the overthrow of the supremacy of Rome itself in England. It may very well be, then, that the decision to make Peterborough the seat of a new bishopric was inspired by other motives than regard for the queen interred there by old Scarlett. Henry was quite capable of trying to throw a sop to Cerberus in the person of St. Peter, the Doorkeeper of Heaven. On the other hand, he was not likely to neglect the securing of a strategic point.

Whatever the true explanation may be, the elevation of John Chambers to the new hierarchy preserved a beautiful example of Norman architecture and its transition to the Early English style, of which the West Front is so magnificent a specimen. Unfortunately, the Puritans did not share Henry's views. When they took possession of the

church, altar and reredos were thrown down, the glass of the windows was shattered, images and ornaments of every kind were broken or defaced by gunfire. Even the tomb of Queen Catharine was rifled and the lead, timber and stone of the Cathedral and its adjoining buildings were sold to the highest bidder. In view of the curse on the Cathedral it is interesting to note that some of the purchasers had occasion to regret their bargains ; the merchant who bought the lead, we learn from Dean Patrick, "lost it all, and the ship which carried it, in her voyage to Holland."

After the restoration, the ravages of Cromwell's soldiery were repaired as opportunity offered, until during the last century the work of re-edification culminated in large-scale operations, which included the rebuilding of the lantern tower, the underpinning of the walls, and the reconstruction of the West Front. These were necessitated by the insecurity of the foundations, and they resulted, not only in the preservation of the fabric, but also in the discovery of the foundations of St. Ethelwold's church on the site of the south transept—a fitting sequel to the tale of Wulfhere's "gift."



NORWICH CATHEDRAL

NORWICH

"This ancient city, being one of the largest, and certainly after London, one of the noblest of England, for its venerable cathedral, number of stately churches . . . and buildings of flint so exquisitely squared and headed . . ."—EVELYN'S DIARY.

THE clearest picture carried away from Norwich, "City of Churches," is not, after all, of church or cathedral, ancient street or castle, but simply that of an old stone gateway, a square and isolated ruin in the Bishop's garden, its carving rubbed and made soft with age. Now a dovecote, where the doves cluster in the empty windows above the arch, half asleep in the sunshine, unaware of the broken splendour and of all the pomp and circumstance once wont to pass this way, it is the only fragment remaining of Bishop Salmon's great hall, which was added to the Bishop's Palace late in the fourteenth century.

This is quite typical of Norwich. For what remains of the storm and passion that once raged about this silent, lonely building, drowsing in the peace of a Cathedral town? Its history is one of fighting bishops, of fierce differences between monks and townsfolk, of Lollardy and rebellion and plague, of terrible justice and hearty repentance for crime. But the hard flints are worn smooth with the weathering of centuries, and the town of Norwich is prosperous and calm.

If we may trust some accounts, it was in a spirit of penance that the Cathedral was first built, in plan as we see it now. There was no pre-Conquest Cathedral here. St. Felix established his see at Dunwich, one of Norfolk's lost towns. Thence it was transferred to Elmham, and again in 1070 to Thetford. In 1094, Herbert de Losinga, Bishop of Thetford, was arraigned for the crime of simony, deprived, and ordered to build, at his own expense, a Cathedral at Norwich in expiation. Apparently Norwich had already been marked out as the permanent seat of the bishopric. It was very shortly moved thither; the deprived de Losinga set about his task with such eagerness and success that he was reinstated as Bishop of Norwich, and in 1101 the Church of the Holy Trinity was dedicated, while sixty monks from Ramsey took up their abode in the monastery built beside it. Since that day, the Cathedral has been three times damaged by fire, once by hurricane, and once by lightning; many names have been concerned in its building and rebuilding; it suffered a fury of destruction at the hands of the Puritans, as we may read in accounts of the time. But in plan it is still Norman, and in walls, lower stories, and part of the tower, the repentance of Bishop Herbert may still be seen.

Two centuries later a more flamboyant crime brought forth a new fever of penitential building, when the long-standing quarrel between monks and citizens over their respective charters came to a head. On Tombland, then a field before the monastery, and now marked by a

wide and attractive street running west of the Cathedral Close, an annual fair was held. Now Tombland was claimed by the monks by right of charter. It was also claimed by the citizens by right of position, and on this matter, one fairtime, the people and the prior's servants came to blows. Some citizens were killed ; the coroner declared a verdict against the murderers, and issued a warrant against them, and this was a new cause of complaint, for the prior claimed all jurisdiction within this area. He seems to have been a proud and violent man, and he launched the fury of the Church against the city, and made matters worse by importing unmanageable mercenaries to defend him. These ran amok in the town one day, looting and drinking, and the result was a horrible scene of desecration, murder, and pillage when the angry people fired the monastic buildings, slaughtered the monks, and sacked the Cathedral.

This was in 1272, and it seems to have required the united diplomacy of pope and king to compose the quarrel and to put Norwich to rights again. But hard pressure, wholesale excommunication and summary executions cooled the blood of the citizens, and imprisonment produced a state of repentance in the prior. He resigned his post ; and the citizens, after some argument, provided the sum of 3,000 marks for the repair of the Cathedral and monastery, and built the gateway of St. Ethelbert as a sign of its future immunity from attack. This gate still exists, though much restored, and is a very fine example of flint-work in Norwich.

But it was not until 1524, after much litigation and many patched-up treaties, that by the influence of Cardinal Wolsey the dispute was settled to the satisfaction of all parties. It is pleasant to think that the disputants did not part in anger, for a few years later the monks were disbanded, and their removal must have left a great gap in the daily life of the Norwich folk. And it is possible that their loss was not merely that of an old neighbour ready for an argument, for after all the monks were not the thorn in the flesh of the city that historians of these frays would have us believe. They were there, by their own will, for service, and their hands were as quick to heal as to strike. To this the name of Bishop de Spencer bears witness, for he, so well remembered for his soldierlike severity, is famous too for the care with which he shepherded his flock. He broke the revolt of the peasants in 1381, marching against them in person; he played his part in foreign wars as well, and, indirectly, left his best memorial in the gateway of Sir Thomas Erpingham, whom he convinced of the dangers of flirting with Lollardy in his usual Spartan way, and on whom he enjoined this task of building as a token of renewed good faith. It is a beautiful and elaborate structure immediately opposite the West Front. The famous knight of Agincourt kneels in a niche above the splendid arch, not, as has been suggested, in token of his submission to "the warlike bishop," but rather in an attitude of prayer; and his subsequent benefactions, as well as his friendship with his former antagonist, prove the posture no hypocrisy.

The Bishops of Norwich seem to have been accustomed to carry the sword. But they could not subdue those fierce and powerful barons by sword alone. It must be remembered that they carried the crozier too, and it was not only to a temporal power that the great Lord Morley bowed when, in the horrible years of the Black Death, he did penance in Norwich Cathedral for the slaying of Bishop Bateman's deer.

There are other names : Bishop Nikke, " who in spite of his name had little of snow in his breast " ; Bishop Anthony, poisoned in times of great disturbance ; but through all this jarring and discord the work of building and repairing went on, and strangely enough, produced little to indicate the stormy nature of the people. Perhaps craftsmen are always contemplative ; there is certainly strength and richness in the Norman tower, with its lofty Perpendicular spire, but it is not aggressive. The nave, again, is impressive, with its heavy pillars, staid Norman arches, and the groined roof, added by Bishop Lyhart at the end of the fifteenth century, and certainly the loveliest thing in Norwich, contrives to be in keeping, and lends a spiritual grandeur to the sturdiness of the rest. Within the arches, the insertion of Decorated and Perpendicular windows might seem a little haphazard, and the West Front, which carries a Perpendicular window that is accounted one of the finest in England, as well as some particularly feeble restoration, is by no means uniform in style. But in all other respects, Norwich Cathedral is singularly steady and calm. It

lacks the luxuriance of Exeter, the grandeur of Canterbury, the fine severity of Winchester. In a city of flint churches and elaborate and wonderful wood-carving, it preserves a balance of simplicity and charm. Perhaps the turbulence of the people broke out in the gay frescoes, of which tantalizing traces still may be seen here and there, upon the vaulting. But these have faded or crumbled away. Stripped of its ancient ornament, and save for the extensive and beautiful cloisters, shorn of its monastic buildings, it remains a very lovely fragment.



NORWICH CATHEDRAL:
SOUTH-EAST VIEW.



WELLS CATHEDRAL

WELLS

"It ariseth up still from the foot to the top of all imagerie in curious and antike wise, wrought of stone carved and embowed right artificially."—CAMDEN.

WELLS, of the quiet name and quiet life, is a place apart, cut off from the rest of England in spirit, as it is in fact, by a spur of the Mendip Hills. In the heart of the Arthurian country, it has no Arthurian tradition; the ravages of Saxon and Norman invaders have left no mark upon it; the religious upheaval of the sixteenth century, which reduced its neighbour, Glastonbury, to a ruin, affected the city itself but little; while the Industrial Revolution, beyond transferring its prosperity to the mineral-bearing North, did no violence to its character. Throughout its history Wells has lived and lives to-day for the Cathedral to which it forms a background.

The visitor who sees the particular beauties of this Cathedral, the Chapter House with the stairs leading up to it, the picture of walls and tower reflected in the lake, the great clock of Glastonbury, or the West Front, a mass of statues, will realize that here he has a story told not of barons or prelates or schools, but of the common people. For the secret of the West Country is that the people lived more for themselves than for their neighbours; they regarded the family as something more sacred than the aspirations of an overlord. And the Cathedral of Wells is the revelation of this secret. An army of

anonymous masons worked to make the nave a carven Catechism, and the pictured West Front the open Bible of an age that had no printing press.

It may be because the motive was so entirely spiritual that the builders achieved a harmony of design that is seldom found elsewhere. In too many cathedrals the eye is offended by the clash of styles, caused by the refusal of one generation to assimilate or at least respect the ideals of another, but at Wells all is subordinated to the central plan and the desire for continuous development. Of course, the people of Wells, because of their isolation from the rest of England, were less likely to be influenced by conflicting architectural designs ; still, they preserved their own tradition consciously, as the internal evidence of the present nave and the West Front show.

The expression of this tradition began towards the end of the twelfth century, during the episcopate of Bishop Reginald de Bohun. An earlier church had been built, possibly in the eighth century, by Ina of Wessex, but certainly before the creation of the diocese of Wells under Edward the Elder, when Abbot Adhelm of Glastonbury, an uncle of St. Dunstan, was appointed first Bishop. This Saxon building fell into decay when John de Villula moved his "stool" to Bath, and was subsequently rebuilt by Bishop Robert, the warlike supporter of Stephen de Blois, on his return to Wells. Fortunately for the Gothic pride of the present Cathedral hardly a trace remains of Robert's work, which either perished or was reconstructed by his successors.

De Bohun built the four eastern bays of the nave under the first influence of the Pointed style, and his achievement, which included the transepts, three bays of the choir and a tower raised high enough to take the gabled roof, is one of the most remarkable, if not the earliest example of independence from Romanesque in the south of England. It is not until fairly recently that the credit for this portion of the Cathedral was given to de Bohun, for Bishop Jocelyn, in building the remaining bays, preserved its character so well that the entire nave was generally assigned to him. Yet the change is marked clearly enough, for the style of Jocelyn's bays is more fully developed.

The West Front, however, will always remain the chief tribute to the genius of Bishop Jocelyn. He had adhered faithfully to the testament of de Bohun as expressed in the beginning of the nave, but when this had been followed out he was free to use his own judgment. His was no mere expression of a particular conception of art. He uttered in his work something more; an act of faith and an act of charity. For the representation in stone of the Creation, the Fall, and the Atonement, of the Communion of Saints, and the Last Judgment was a sign that Jocelyn, having learnt the truths of his religion, believed, and believing desired to impart these truths to others. He built not only for himself but also for his flock, and thus gave an added interest to his work. The beauty of this Front is the beauty of the thought that lies behind the skilful execution of a great design.

After the death of Jocelyn, the Cathedral gradually neared completion in accord with the original plan, yet bearing the imprint of the various stages in the merging of the Pointed style into Decorated, and Decorated into Perpendicular. Early in the fourteenth century de Bohun's tower was raised, and the pressure of this new erection, which had not been reckoned for when the original piers were built, threatened disaster. Fortunately the danger was perceived in time, and averted by the introduction of low-pointed arches on which rested inverted arches of the same form ; a device adopted later at Glastonbury and called by Leland " St. Andrew's Crosses."

The invention of these supports, then, was prompted by necessity, but it was a basic principle of the Gothic architect that usefulness should be allied to beauty, and one can hardly imagine how the main purpose could have been achieved in a more striking manner. At the same time the builders may have had a further object in view ; to add to the devotional character of the interior by providing a focus to the altar.

The average worshipper, ignorant of constructional needs and difficulties, probably regarded, if he does not still regard, the cross as an effective form of decoration which helped to prevent attention from wandering from the service. It has been said that there is no nave in England in which the eye is so irresistibly carried eastward as in that of Wells Cathedral, and while this has been attributed chiefly to the carrying on of the triforium arcade in a continuous series of lancet openings,

to a lay mind the St. Andrew's Cross, because it is more obvious, secures the effect more surely, though of course in a different way.

With the tower raised and its stabilization in hand, attention was concentrated on the Lady Chapel, which became one of the brightest jewels in the crown of Wells. In the form of an octagon linked at the west end to the choir, it arose in the heyday of English Gothic and is a monument not only to Bishop Drovensford, but also to de Bohun and Jocelyn, whose ideal it has interpreted. In view of this, one is attracted more perhaps by the Jesse window, which fills the east end, than by graceful arches, incomparable vaulting, or delicate ornamentation. The glass in this window, singularly beautiful in design and colour, forms a wonderful last chapter to the Cathedral Catechism. Incidentally there can be seen in it a separate reflection of the glazier's mind, for, as Canon Church has pointed out, the window is remarkable "for a force of character in the faces, and the stately figures in flowing mantles of green and ruby and gold, like Arab chiefs; figures such as some artist in the last crusading host under Edward might have seen and designed, and so different from the conventional portraiture of Bible characters."

When the last Abbot of Glastonbury was hanged on Glastonbury Tor—and the traveller who has seen the Tor from the hills above Wells will realize what an effect the choice of such a spot for the execution would have upon the countryside—the people of Wells must have feared

that their Cathedral was doomed. Though only five miles from the ruined abbey, the city evidently gained once more by its isolation and peacefulness, for beyond the removal of wealth and lands, and treasures within the Cathedral, the fabric escaped almost unharmed.

But a different story is told of the occupation of Wells by Monmouth's undisciplined army during the rebellion of 1685. The rebels, nearing the breaking point of their allegiance to Monmouth's cause, were ready to destroy, and, incited by fanatics, they defaced the statues on the West Front, desecrated the Cathedral, shattered windows, and stabled their horses in the nave.

Apart from this outbreak, the prominence of Bishop Savary as one of the hostages for the payment of the ransom of Richard Cœur de Lion, and the removal of Bishop Ken to London to stand his trial as one of the Seven Bishops, Wells has stood apart from history, and by that very fact has made it. A typical Cathedral city, it opens the door for the student of life in mediæval England. But it tells of modern England too, for its isolation is only from change and upheaval. To-day in Wells we find the Cathedral Close and the Vicar's Close representative of the people of England, but still forming a world of their own; a world such as is described by Anthony Trollope and Hugh Walpole, our Cathedral novelists.



SALISBURY CATHEDRAL

SALISBURY

*"Once more I came to Sarum Close,
With joy half memory, half desire,
And breathed the sunny wind that rose
And blew the shadows o'er the spire."*

COVENTRY PATMORE.

AMONG the ecclesiastical reforms initiated after the Norman Conquest by William I and Archbishop Lanfranc, one stands out prominently in Cathedral history, not because it was of vital importance to the government of the Church in England, but on account of its effects on the Cathedrals themselves and the architectural developments of which it was the remote cause. This was the removal of the bishops' thrones from small towns and villages to larger towns with the consequent erection of new Cathedrals and the decline of the old to the status of the parish church. Promulgated at the Council of London in 1075, the reform resulted notably in the transference of the see of Dorchester to Lincoln, Stigand's removal from Selsey to Chichester and the suppression of the combined dioceses of Sherburne and Wilton in favour of Old Sarum.

This last change was made during the episcopate of Herbert of Lotharingia, who began at once to build, choosing a site near the Castle Keep. Norman in style, the new church was one of the first to be erected after

the Norman Conquest, but the position had disadvantages which led eventually to its abandonment. For Old Sarum, the meeting place of two Roman roads and a military post from early British times, was set on the top of a round hill which commanded the surrounding plain but left it exposed to the four winds ; there were no prospects for industry or agriculture to draw people from river-bank or sheltered hillside, and therefore little likelihood that the place would ever be less a fortress than a city. Councils secular and ecclesiastical were indeed held at Old Sarum ; St. Osmund made it a liturgical centre with the growing acceptance of the Sarum Use ; William the Conqueror, whose Chancellor Osmund had been, came to the Castle to receive the oaths of "all the landowning men of any account that there were over all England, whosoever men they were." But within a week of its consecration by St. Osmund, the Cathedral roof was destroyed by a storm ; after its repair complaints were made constantly by the people that "when the wind did blow they could not hear the priest say Mass" ; and this, added to the persistently insulting attitude adopted by the garrison, made the lives of the Bishop and his Chapter almost unbearable.

The quarrel between soldiers and clergy had begun with the appointment of the Bishop as Governor of Old Sarum. It came to a head when King Stephen ordered Bishop Roger, who had been Chancellor to Henry I, to be superseded in his secular charge by a layman. From that time "the Church of Sarisburie was captive on the

hill ” and plans for removal to another site were discussed. “ Let us therefore,” wrote Peter de Blois, a Canon of the Cathedral, “ in God’s name go down to the plain country where the valleys will yield store of wheat and other corn, where also the large fields are rich fat in pasture.” But it was left to Bishop Richard Poore to take action in 1220, after a procession had been prevented from returning to the Cathedral and the Clergy had had to spend the night on the hillside.

In 1226 the building had so far progressed that the body of St. Osmund was translated to the choir, and some thirty years later the Cathedral was completed and dedicated in the presence of Henry III. This ceremony marked the doom of Old Sarum, which fell into ruin, enjoying a brief spell of fame, only when its position as a pocket borough made “ Gatton and Old Sarum ” a hustings cry during the agitation for the Reform Act of 1831. Under Edward III a grant was made to the Dean and Chapter of Salisbury of “ all the stone walls of the former Cathedral church of Old Sarum . . . to have and to hold, as our gift, for the improvement of the Church of New Sarum and the close thereunto belonging.” This grant explains the presence of odd pieces of Norman carving in the walls of the close.

The erection, in the fourteenth century, of the magnificent spire, which soared to a height above that of the ramparts on Old Sarum Hill and thus symbolized for all time the escape of the bishops from “ the burden of long servitude,” placed the last seal upon Richard

Poore's foundation—the only mediæval Cathedral in England designed and completed in one style. For at Salisbury one does not find a *mélange* of Romanesque and Gothic; the work of many hands, this perfect specimen of early Gothic art has sprung direct from one mind.

Salisbury has taken little or no part in English history, and its domestic history, too, is uneventful. True, there was the alarm created by the excessive weight placed by the spire upon the frail thirteenth-century lantern, but this was a common experience, differing from what happened at Winchester and Ely only in so far as prompt action averted a catastrophe. And the usual scenes of destruction followed the religious upheaval of the sixteenth century. But it was not until the restoration of the interior was decided upon some two centuries later, that the chronicles of the new Cathedral furnish items that have the interest of novelty.

The chief character in this scheme of restoration was one James Wyatt, whose originality lay in an astounding absence of good taste and ordinary understanding. What glass had been left in the windows after the raid by the Puritans was promptly removed, broken up for the sake of the lead or handed over to junk dealers; the Early English choir screen was destroyed, for no particular reason except that Wyatt wished to erect a new one made from the materials of two chantries which he had already removed; the decorations on the walls and roof were carefully obliterated by a yellow wash, and, to pro-

vide a further outlet for his zeal, the altar was moved from the choir to the Lady Chapel and given a new reredos, consisting of fragments of the various chapels that had been given over to the wreckers.

Wyatt's vandalism was shown most clearly, however, in his treatment of the tombs that stood in the nave. Apparently he had an eye for symmetry which was offended by the sight of odd monuments dotted about the Cathedral, for he had them taken from their places and arranged in rows between the columns of the nave. In some cases the effigies were replaced on the wrong tombs, possibly because Wyatt wished them to correspond in appearance with others in the same row.

The cold austerity of the nave as we see it to-day is due largely to Wyatt's work. One can but be grateful that he had no opportunity of exercising his talent on the exterior, for he would have been quite capable of tearing down the spire and putting some feeble erection in its place. As it was he razed to the ground the detached bell tower which stood to the north-west of the Cathedral.

By good fortune this work of restoration did not extend to the exterior until 1859, when it was placed in the hands of Sir Gilbert Scott, who removed some of Wyatt's atrocities, brought to light the decorations on the roof of the Lady Chapel and erected a triptych in place of the re-made reredos. The most interesting feature of this undertaking was the restoration of the West Front, which had been sadly mutilated by the iconoclasts.

The sculptor was James F. Redfern, whose death at the age of thirty-seven cut short a brilliant career.

The West Front of Salisbury has been criticised adversely, because the original architect treated it as an independent composition and seems to have been more concerned with the making of an "open Bible" or a sort of exterior reredos than with the actual building of the church. But the obvious defence seems to be contained in the criticism. The Front was made a "reredos" for a definite purpose, which was surely justified on religious grounds, and, if that purpose was achieved without doing violence to the plan or effect of the building as a whole, there is little reason for complaint.

But whatever may be said for or against the West Front there can be no doubt that it does not compare in design or in treatment with the façade at Wells. It lacks the inspiration, the depth of thought of Jocelyn's design, impressing the visitor as the repetition of a prayer and not as the composition of a hymn. Happily, however, the beauty of Salisbury lies elsewhere—in the delicate aspiration of the spire, the coherence and unity of the major plan, the charm of its setting. As one stands within the Cathedral Close the eye is caught by lawn and tree and rising wall and carried to the spire. It is the vision of Richard Poore, the realization of Peter's wish that ended in the cry :—

"Let us therefore, in God's name, go down to the plain country."



WINCHESTER CATHEDRAL

WINCHESTER

*"Who so rarely dost express
An inspiring tenderness,
Woven with thy sterner strain."*

—LIONEL JOHNSON.

A TOURIST who leaves the noise of London for a quiet holiday in Winchester is apt to see the glory of the cathedral city in the tradition of public school and bishopric. But Winchester had its greatest fame as a royal town and the capital of England before it became possible or necessary for kingship to rest upon commerce. The town enshrines the memory of Alfred the Great, of Canute, and of Henry II, as well as of William of Wykeham; first as the capital of Wessex, which was soon to gain the mastery of England, then as the capital of a northern empire which embraced the whole of Scandinavia, and finally as the executive and financial centre of the Angevin empire which included one half of France. Like Canterbury, Winchester was international. When Mary Tudor was married to Philip of Spain in the Cathedral, she was keeping alive a royal tradition.

William of Wykeham, the builder and scholar, did not begin, but rather brought to a new glory the tradition of Winchester as a home of learning. For in the revival of learning under Alfred the royal

town was its centre, and in another generation the "Winchester School" of illumination and manuscript work under Dunstan was the assumption by Wessex of the scholarship that had once been the glory of England under the Northumbrian Bede. Thus the present Cathedral, when Winchester lost political importance, became associated primarily with the tradition of scholarship.

Evidence of prehistoric settlement suggests that a pagan temple stood on or near the site of the present church, and this view is supported by a tradition that Lucius, the King of the Britons, whose conversion is recorded by Bede, made the temple into a place for Christian worship. This, the first church, we are told, was sacked during the persecution under Diocletian ; restored under Constantine, and dedicated to the priest whom St. Alban sheltered and for whom he died ; to be profaned again when Cerdic and Cynric, the Saxon conquerors of the sixth century, stamped out the practice of Christianity and raised an altar in the church to Thor and Woden.

It may be no more than a tradition that Cerdic found the Cross at Winchester, but it is certainly a fact that he, or his immediate successors, left a temple, for Wessex was a pagan country when missionaries arrived from Rome at the beginning of the seventh century.

St. Birinus, whom Pope Honorius had entrusted with the evangelization of Wessex, was preceded by reports of his sanctity, and, his arrival coinciding with the visit of

the Christian King of Northumbria, he was readily received at the court. In a very short time the King, Kynegils, was baptized with a great many of his subjects. A large tract of land was given to St. Birinus for the endowment of a monastery, Thor and Woden were finally banished, and a cathedral rose from the ruins of the temple.

After the enthronement of St. Birinus as first Bishop, Winchester grew rapidly in importance as an ecclesiastical city. Politically too it advanced, and when Egbert, who ascended the throne of the West Saxons in 802, became the first King of all England, his capital naturally became the premier city.

Egbert had for an adviser the saintly Bishop Swithun, who acted in similar capacity for his son Ethelwulf and tutored the young boy known later as Alfred the Great. St. Swithun's humility took a romantic turn when he gave orders that he should be buried where his grave might be soaked by the rain from the eaves and trodden upon by those who entered the Cathedral, and the consequences of the first attempt to translate his body to the crypt, by giving us a formula for weather prophecy, may explain forgetfulness of the part he played in the government of his diocese and of his country. Yet his influence was very great. Alfred probably owed to him much of his success, and we may attribute to St. Swithun, at least indirectly, the attraction of scholars to Winchester, which led to the preparation there of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle and culminated in William of Wykeham's famous foundation.

Shortly after the death of St. Swithun the Danes fell upon Winchester, but the Cathedral escaped destruction. It was practically rebuilt, however, during the tenth century, when the secular priests were replaced by Benedictine monks, during the monastic reform under the Bishop of Winchester, St. Elphege, and his friend and adviser St. Dunstan. That period of change and the succeeding years up to the Norman Conquest were among the most glorious in the history of Winchester, recalling the names not only of St. Dunstan, St. Elphege, and St. Ethelwold, but also of St. Edward the Confessor, whose spiritual home may have been at Westminster, but who was crowned at Winchester. At this time, too, the body of St. Swithun was transferred from the churchyard to the crypt of the new Cathedral, which became thereafter the scene of many pilgrimages.

The Saxon Cathedral stood for just over a century and was then replaced by a Norman structure, the building of which was undertaken by Bishop Walkelin, a cousin of the Conqueror. Much of Walkelin's work can be seen to-day, although alterations were carried out on such a scale by his successors that the present Cathedral incorporates every English style, from Norman to Perpendicular.

It was in the choir of Walkelin's church that William Rufus was buried after his body had been brought to Winchester on the cart of a charcoal-burner; and, when the central tower fell in 1107, men said that this was the judgment of God for placing the tomb so near

the sanctuary. A more natural explanation, however, is that the builders of the tower underestimated or failed to neutralize the thrust of the easternmost arches of the nave ; a common fault exemplified by the collapses at Ely and Lincoln, as well as by the "strainer arches" at Salisbury and Canterbury and the curious St. Andrew's cross at Wells. In the rebuilding of the Winchester tower, by the way, a certain lack of faith in the more popular explanation was shown by the introduction of abnormally large piers, which detracted from beauty what they were intended to add to safety.

Few names are better known in connection with the history of Winchester than that of William of Wykeham, who occupied the see from 1366 to 1404, but who probably played a leading part in the work of restoration under his predecessor, Bishop Edington, when Walkelin's nave was judged unsafe. To the outside world Wykeham is spoken of more frequently perhaps as the founder of Winchester School and New College, Oxford, than as the transformer of the Cathedral, but the latter work proved him to be as great in architecture as he was in education. He may not have invented the Perpendicular style, but he did bring it to perfection, and left at Winchester as fine a specimen as can be found in England.

When Bishop Edington died the West front and a part of the Transepts had been rebuilt. For some years nothing more was done, but in 1394 the remodelling of the Nave was resumed and much of it completed before Wykeham's death, the whole work being

finished before the end of the fifteenth century. It is in Wykeham's Nave that the expression of his genius is found. He did not demolish but reclothed the Norman pillars in a Gothic dress and completed the design with a Gothic clerestory and roof. The result is a Nave apparently in a single style but really built in two.

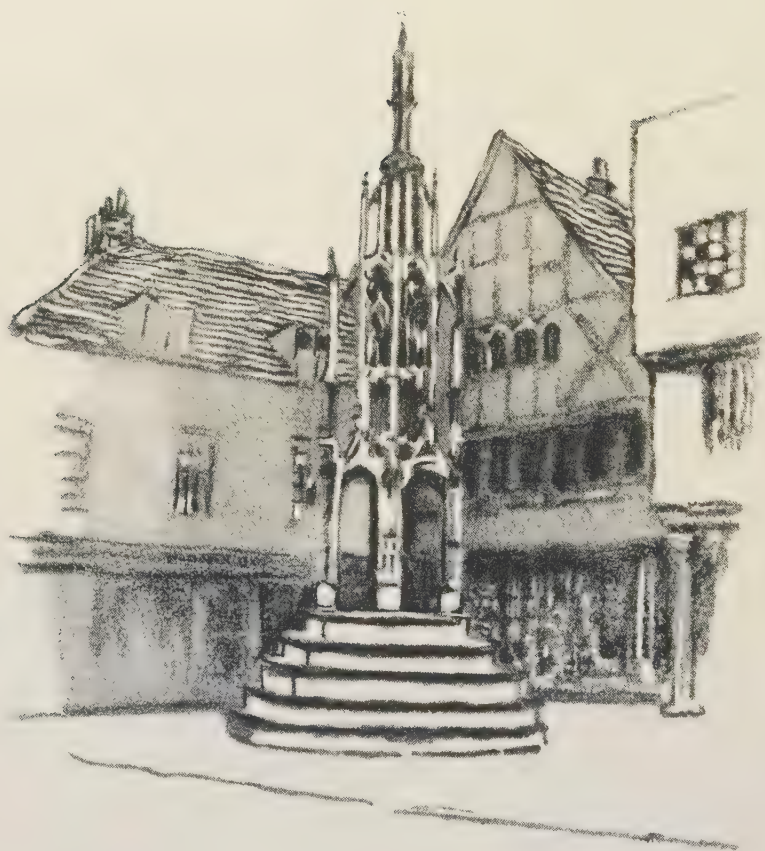
The Reformation dealt hardly with Winchester. Not only were the monks disbanded and their funds devoted to secular uses, but the monastery itself was razed to the ground and the Cathedral stripped of many of its ornaments. It would seem, however, that even the zeal of the Reformers did not commend itself to Cromwell's soldiery, for when the city was occupied in 1644 a raid was made on the church. We can imagine how thoroughly these iconoclasts did their work when we read (with due allowance for hyperbole) that "Of the brass torn from violated monuments, might have been built a house as strong as the brazen tower in old romances."

So far as it was possible reparation was made for this wanton destruction after the Restoration. But the Puritan invasion provided the culminating scene in the drama of Winchester, and itself contained two incidents that demonstrate the significance of the Cathedral to-day. One was the destruction of Wolvesey Palace, which ended once and for all the political aspirations of the city, raising it instead to the quiet dignity of a Cathedral town. The other is contained in the tradition that during the

raid on the Cathedral itself one of the officers in command, an old Winchester boy, stood guard over the tomb of Wykeham, lest in the general pillage the bones of the Founder be disturbed. It may be that loyalty to his old school was his only motive ; but in keeping from destruction the grave of that Builder and Preserver, he testified to the endurance of a greater monument and thus epitomized the story of a great Cathedral.



WINCHESTER CATHEDRAL :
THE DEANERY



WINCHESTER :
THE CITY CROSS



GLOUCESTER CATHEDRAL

GLOUCESTER

"Mankind was never so happily inspired as when it made a Cathedral."—R. L. STEVENSON.

KINGS have received their crowns, convened councils and parliaments, met their deaths and been given burial at Gloucester, from the time of Wulfhere and Osric, who founded the first monastery, to that of Henry VIII, who came on a visit with Anne Boleyn. Within the city walls Athelstan died, "about forty-one winters, bating one night," from the death of King Alfred, who was a patron of the Abbey. Edgar and Edward the Confessor held their courts at Gloucester; there, too, William the Conqueror ordered the compilation of the Domesday Book; and it has been said that "in the reign of Rufus everything that happened at all contrived to happen at Gloucester." It was while visiting the Abbey that the second William was seized with illness, and in fear of death, was persuaded to sanction the appointment of Anselm to the vacant see of Canterbury, the consecration of the new primate taking place in the Minster. Some years later Henry I, stricken with remorse, perhaps, for the death of his brother, Robert Curthose, whose attempt on the throne he had punished with blinding and imprisonment for life, ordered that the body should be carried in state to Gloucester and interred before the High Altar. And

among the other names that might be mentioned as being connected with the city are those of Henry II, Henry III, credited with having a greater love for Gloucester, the place of his coronation, than for London, Edward I, and the hapless Edward II, deposed and murdered, whose shrine in the sanctuary attracted many pilgrims.

From this brief description it might be inferred that Gloucester was a place of great political or strategic importance under Norman and Plantagenet kings. Yet the city gained more from the patronage of royalty than royalty gained from patronage ; its associations in English history may be traced as often to the accident of events as to natural advantages presented by its position. True, Gloucester had been a military station under the Romans ; in Saxon times one of the chain of towns that held the line of the Severn ; to Bede one of the noblest cities in the country. But the burial place of Edward II was near the scene of his murder ; the Conqueror wore his crown at Gloucester because he was marching from the north and because his friend and chaplain Serlo occupied the Abbot's stall ; while it was the fame of the Abbey that attracted the Confessor. As a rule we shall find that the monks were hosts and not the citizens ; for the mediæval importance of Gloucester was really the importance of the monastery, which, with Tewkesbury, Evesham and the other Benedictine houses of the Severn valley, formed a group incomparable in England.

Wulfhere is said to have begun St. Peter's Abbey in 681, and Ethelred his brother to have carried on the

work. But Osric, afterwards King of Northumbria, is more deserving of the title of founder. It was chiefly by his care that the monastery was built and his sister Kyneburga placed there as Abbess over a community of monks and nuns. Kyneburga ruled for nearly thirty years, and after her death was buried in the Chapel of St. Petronilla, where the tomb of Osric already stood.

At a time when woman is only just beginning to assume her proper place in public life, the election of women as mayors or as members of Parliament is generally regarded as the fruit of a new movement, a novelty in progress. Yet during the period which we call the Dark Ages, women took as great a part in government as they do to-day, if not a greater. The elevation of Kyneburga provides only one instance of this ; for Etheldreda of Ely, Hilda of Whitby and Ethelburga of Barking not only ruled over important monasteries, but also participated in national affairs, as members of the Witan. And at Gloucester itself there were Abbesses for an unbroken period of eighty-four years, Edburga, the widow of Wulfhere, succeeding Kyneburga, and being succeeded a quarter of a century later by Eva, another Queen of Mercia.

Eva was the last Abbess of Gloucester. During the wars between Mercia and Wessex that marked the close of the eighth century and caused confusion throughout the country, her rule came to an end and the community was disbanded. For fifty years the monastery remained untenanted, roofless and decayed. Then Beornwulf

assumed the crown of Mercia, and having restored the buildings, installed secular Canons, who appear to have been somewhat lax and undisciplined, but who retained possession until Canute brought back the Benedictines in 1022. Under the first Abbot, Edric, the Abbey lands were extended considerably by such gifts as the manors of Churcham and Hyneham and meadows "as far as the Severn," which were presented by one Wolfin la Rue in atonement for the murder of six monks. Yet the Abbey did not prosper. Edric was accused of squandering as much as he received; the visits of kings with huge retinues and definite views on the subject of hospitality depleted the treasury still further; and finally monastery and church were consumed by fire—a disaster that was to be repeated three times in little more than a hundred years.

Abbot Aelred, who succeeded Edric in 1058, began the building of a new church, placing it nearer to the walls of the town, but on his translation to the Archbishopric of York he alienated certain of the monastic lands, and the Abbey fell once more into a decline so serious that, when Abbot Serlo came from Mont St. Michel in 1072, he found only two professed monks and eight scholars. The lands were subsequently restored, Thomas of York making a formal renunciation before the Chapter of Gloucester in 1095; meanwhile the followers of Robert Curthose, who, as we have seen, was buried later with Royal honours before the High Altar, had attacked the town and destroyed Aelred's Minster. This blow, following so close upon the losses suffered by the Abbey,

might have been overwhelming to the mind of any other man than Serlo, but he commenced the work of restoration with all the wisdom and energy that characterized his administration. In 1089 the foundations were laid of a Norman church, which was dedicated a few months before the death of William Rufus. There is a curious story to the effect that a sermon preached in the new Minster prophesied the King's fate, and that Abbot Serlo, impressed by it, sent messengers hurriedly to him with a warning which was regarded by the court as "the dreams of his snoring monks" until after the finding of William's dead body in the New Forest.

William had called Serlo "a good abbot and a judicious old man" and the description certainly seems to have been justified; he left at the time of his death a community of a hundred monks, and the church he built, despite the damage suffered from successive conflagrations, remained in plan and main construction as it is seen to-day. The Lady Chapel is the only addition of outstanding importance to this plan, while the Early English clerestory and vaulting substituted for the wooden roof forms the most noticeable reconstruction of the interior. And yet the architecture of the choir and the graceful beauty of the central tower are features vastly more important than the squat piers of Serlo's nave, which have such a peculiar effect when viewed in conjunction with the low triforium and vaulting. The visitor, on entering the Cathedral, is apt to be overpowered by these piers, and to leave with a dominating

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impression of Norman nave and ornament, with the thought of Serlo as the master mind of Gloucester. This is well enough as a tribute to the man who planned and executed the greater part of the building, and who raised St. Peter's to the proud position it held among the Abbeys of England, but not as an appraisal of the Cathedral. For in the fourteenth century Gloucester became the cradle of the Perpendicular style of English Gothic, and thus assumed its final character.

The influence exerted by the Minster is traceable in two ways to popular veneration for the tomb of Edward II. Shortly after the burial of the King, stories had begun to circulate of the petitions granted and miracles wrought, and pilgrims flocked to Gloucester from every part of the country. This meant, of course, that many offerings were made, not only for the embellishment of the tomb but also for the restoration of the Cathedral, and as a further consequence, that the process of restoration was viewed by a national assembly of priests and artists as well as by the people. For the work was going on at a period of extraordinary architectural activity and development, and whatever new developments were seen at Gloucester were copied by craftsmen throughout the country. In this way the minds of Englishmen were turned from the latent possibilities of Decorated to the new Perpendicular style.

The peace and prosperity of Edward III's reign gave ample opportunity for exercise and development of the Decorated form, an English contribution to Gothic art, which was, however, hardly an expression of English

temperament. But it was left to France to carry on the style to its logical conclusion in the rich beauty of Flamboyant. While attention was turned to the form that was evolving at Gloucester, churches and cathedrals throughout the country were altered to permit the insertion of large aisle and end windows ; rectilinear panelling was spread over walls and vaultings, buttresses and towers, to achieve a more perfect harmony. It was at Gloucester that men marvelled as the choir clerestory walls were converted into clerestory piers and the lierne vaults poised upon them ; at Gloucester, too, that they discovered the resources of stained glass. And Gloucester set the fashion of re-modelling rather than tearing down and re-building, which is best exemplified in Winchester Cathedral, where William of Wykeham converted a Norman nave into a fine specimen of Early Perpendicular.

In view of this one may be permitted to pass over the rise and fall of the Abbey, the change of status in the reign of Henry VIII by which the Minster became a Cathedral, and events that marked the siege of Gloucester by Royalists during the Civil War, as of slight importance in comparison with the development of a great English art. At any rate, the interest attached to the foundation of Osric's monastery, or to its position as the resort of kings, is national only in so far as it is related to the completion of the choir. Thus the tomb of Edward II becomes one of the most significant features of the Cathedral. For had not the people of England,

attracted by reports of the sanctity of the murdered King, made Gloucester a place of pilgrimage, the choir might have remained unparalleled in English architecture and a host of churches would lack to-day what is perhaps their greatest charm.



GLOUCESTER CATHEDRAL:
THE ABBOT'S GATEWAY



CANTERBURY CATHEDRAL

CANTERBURY

"Things are not to be loved for the sake of places, but places for the sake of good things."—GREGORY THE GREAT TO ST. AUGUSTINE.

WINCHESTER has in the past been the seat of Empire, and Westminster is the centre of Empire to-day ; but Canterbury more than either of these has always had the character of Internationalism. From Roman times it has been an important military centre, commanding as it does the roads which connect London with the Continent, and in that sense it is one of the gateways of England. Scholars have come to the town with their learning, craftsmen with their skill, kings with their armies ; but of all the conquerors who entered Canterbury—whether William I after Hastings, or the Black Prince after Poitiers with a captive King of France—none left such an abiding mark upon the city as Augustine with his small company of monks in the year 597. That invasion attracted England into the world of mediæval Europe ; it established for ever the importance of Canterbury, which was to be one of the great shrines of Christendom after the murder of Becket, and the spiritual home of Englishmen throughout a world-wide Empire after the Reformation.

Actually, the Christian history of Canterbury goes back farther than the sixth century. It is probable that

when the small band of monks, chanting and preceded by the Cross, came over the hills above Canterbury, they saw below them in the valley three Romano-British chapels still standing or partly ruined. St. Martin's, where Augustine first said mass in Canterbury, was used as the oratory of Bertha, the Christian Queen of Kent; a second, dedicated to St. Pancras by Augustine, had been built for pagan worship; and a ruined arch of Roman brick, with a fragment of the old wall, may still be seen, printed deep with the claw-mark of the Devil, who attempted to shake the temple down when he found that men no longer worshipped at his shrine. A third, within the city itself, was granted by King Ethelbert to the newly consecrated Archbishop. On this site Augustine built his basilica, a copy of Old St. Peter's in Rome, which saw the whole course of Anglo-Saxon history, being burnt down a year after the Norman Conquest. It departed from its model in having an apse at either end, the western apse containing the Bishop's throne, and there were towers jutting from about the centre of north and south walls—that on the south dedicated to St. Gregory, and that on the north side to St. Martin. The entrance to the church was in the south side, as it is to-day, a fact which marks another break with the basilican tradition, but which was a continuation of the British custom, no doubt taken over from the Romano-British church that had stood on that site.

Another link between past and present was the crypt beneath the eastern altar, familiar to Augustine in the

Roman basilicas, where such crypts were made in imitation of the catacombs. This has affected the plan of the Cathedral to the present day, necessitating the raising of the choir level, which is approached by long flights of steps, worn and hollowed now by the hundreds of thousands of pilgrims who ascended to the shrine of Becket. Moreover, the Anglo-Saxon Crypt was the inspiration of its beautiful Norman successor, the largest in England and a famous feature of the present Cathedral.

Augustine's church, a model for Saxon ecclesiastical architects, was a history-book in stone of Saxon times. It held the bones or the memorials of Theodore the Greek, who organized the English Church, of Odo, the converted Dane, of Elphege, murdered by the Danes, whose body was brought back to Canterbury in reparation by Canute, of Dunstan, Swithun, and Wilfrid of York. But Lanfranc, who found the Cathedral a ruin in 1070, decided to rebuild it in accordance with the dignity of his primatial see, as the first and greatest of the English churches in the Norman style, although, as a matter of fact, Edward the Confessor had anticipated him at Westminster. He reverted, like Augustine, to the architecture that he loved rather than to the architecture that he found already in England. His model was the *Abbaye-aux-Hommes* at Caen, over which he had been abbot, and even for his building material he had four-squared stones from Caen conveyed to England. Of Lanfranc's actual building only parts of the crypt now remain, although the present Cathedral west of the choir still rests upon his foundations.

The plan was apsidal, with a small choir, and, projecting from the eastern side of each transept, a two-storied apsidal chapel.

As enlarged by Ernulf and Conrad under St. Anselm twenty years afterwards, the choir had its own transepts, each arm containing two apsidal chapels side by side. The choir was now periapsidal ; an ambulatory surrounded the altar, flanked by two chapels, and the eastern end was completed by the rectangular chapel of the Holy Trinity. Canterbury was already a shrine of some importance, the repository of many relics, for twelve of the Archbishops, including Anselm—to whom one of the new chapels was dedicated after his death—were recognized as Saints. This explains the magnificence of the new choir and the large number of chapels which it contained ; so great was its fame that the dedication ceremony in 1130 was attended by Henry I of England, David of Scotland and the whole hierarchy of England.

But the choir was yet to be a greater shrine and of greater glory. In 1170 Thomas à Becket was murdered in Lanfranc's transept, and four years later "Conrad's glorious choir" was destroyed by fire. From the ends of the Christian world pilgrims and gifts came pouring into Canterbury to honour the martyr's memory, and the city began to rival Compostella or Cologne as a place of pilgrimage. The monks had now both the desire and the resources to rebuild the ruined choir in an even grander style, though adhering to Conrad's plan as much as possible. The work of two great architects, William

of Sens and "William the Englishman," the third choir was of greater length than its predecessors. The old Trinity Chapel, where Thomas had so often officiated, was enlarged as the new shrine, the Saint's chapel, ending in a beautiful *corona*, officially known as the Chapel of the Holy Trinity *ad coronam*, but owing to the presence of some relics (perhaps the severed scalp) popularly called "Becket's Crown." Here we find the use of the pointed Gothic arch, for almost the first time in English architecture. Again, Canterbury became an architectural model for England in the transition from Romanesque to Gothic; and, in the *corona* especially, the English William gave native form to the genius of his predecessor from Sens.

Of the actual church, then, in which Becket was murdered, little remains, for his successors strove to honour his memory by new works rather than to preserve what was actually associated with him. Ernulf's crypt, where he was first buried, owes most of its details to English William. The transept of the martyrdom was transformed by Prior Chillenden in the fourteenth century, when Lanfranc's Norman nave was rebuilt in the Perpendicular style, and the doorway by which Becket entered the church, perhaps also the pavement where he was cut down, alone are witnesses of the tragedy.

But if the Cathedral to-day is largely a monument of two styles in architecture, Transitional and Perpendicular, it is by no means devoid of associations which go back to the roots of English history, for it is still the church of Augustine. We may find there the Archbishop's chair,

traditionally Augustine's own, and certainly of great antiquity. In the Warrior's Chapel we may see the tomb of Stephen Langton, who played so great a part in the struggle for Magna Charta. There is the tomb of the Black Prince, over which still hangs his helmet, his velvet surcoat, embroidered with the arms of France and England, his shield, and his sword. But though the tombs of Henry IV and of Cardinal Pole still remain, and although the names of Chaucer, Erasmus, and Colet are connected with Canterbury, it is the memory of Becket that broods over the Cathedral. Of the shrine not a vestige remains—unless, indeed, it be a long hollow in the pavement worn away by kneeling pilgrims. The Commissioners of Henry VIII removed its treasures in twenty-six carts; the body was solemnly tried for treason and buried in another spot. With a sure instinct, Henry made the dead Thomas typify his opponents; from every monument and service book and stained-glass window the name and portrait of Becket were removed by royal command. So carefully was this order obeyed that in the Cathedral at Oxford, over a hundred miles away, the face of Becket in a stained-glass window portrait was replaced by a pane of white glass. With equal determination, but with less success, Cardinal Pole ordered that the prohibited name and effigy should be put back wherever it had been erased.

To us, however, Canterbury no longer represents a conflict between Church and State. For a time it suffered in the reaction against Archbishop Laud, whose

ceremonial was disliked by the Puritans ; and for a time it was used as the stable for Cromwell's horses, as the field wherein a fanatic known as "Blue Dick" and his fellow Covenanters displayed their hatred of "Altars, Images, Service bookes, Pricke-song booke, Surpliss and Organs in the Malignant Cathedrall." But that belongs to a past which will never be resurrected. All men are drawn to-day to Canterbury, some to admire the architecture, some to see the birthplace of Christian history in England, some, mere sightseers, to visit an ancient city. But the journey from the Tabard or from Winchester is seldom undertaken with the motive that prompted the pilgrim of the Middle Ages. Canterbury is still the gateway of England ; its character is still that of Internationalism, but, perhaps the Cathedral is venerated more for itself and its associations with the past than as a church and shrine.



CANTERBURY CATHEDRAL



CANTERBURY CATHEDRAL;
FROM MERCERY LANE.



YORK MINSTER

YORK MINSTER

"In omnem terram exivit sonus eorum, et quibus imperavit Augustus, imperavit Christus."—HILDEBRAND.

YORK is, like Lincoln, a town with a long and interesting past, but unlike Lincoln, this past is recorded not only in its still-existing walls, its towers and churches and houses, but in documents, inscriptions, and chronicles. Whether we deal in legends, such as we find in Geoffrey of Monmouth or Layamon's Brut, or in the soberest history, York is always in the forefront of events. She is the half-mythical *Caer-Ebrauc* of the Britons ; the *Eboracum* of the Romans, the most important military station in Britain, and the northernmost outpost of the Empire ; the stronghold of Hengist and the object of Arthur's desire ; the chief city of Edwin, King of Deira, and the head of the Heptarchy—and finally, the Canterbury of the North.

In fact, its history expresses the history of England and that of later Rome, and all this is concentrated in the Minster. It is not obviously so, for the present church, while exceptionally intact, is also in appearance completely Gothic. But this is not due to frequent destruction by fire or looting, as was so often the fate of English ecclesiastical buildings. The Minster of York has very nearly achieved a natural growth, and the traces of plan within plan still mark its antecedents. For the Gothic

church outgrew the Norman, of which the crypt remains ; the Norman church encompassed the Saxon basilica finished by St. Wilfrid, of which traces may still be seen in the herring-bone stonework within the crypt ; the basilica, we know, was built around the wooden church of St. Paulinus, while mass was still being said there ; and again the crypt contains evidence that the Romans worshipped on this spot, it may be in a temple to the pagan gods, or perhaps, since there were Bishops here before the barbarians broke through the guard of Rome, in the earliest basilica of Christian York.

More sure and obvious history may be read in the beautiful mediæval glass so much of which Fairfax preserved from the fury of the Puritans, and which even survived the fire started by the maniac Martin in 1829. The mosaic, the grisaille, shows us what glass in other churches must have been ; the subject-groups of Kings and Bishops recall the chronicles of city and kingdom, as do the statues on reredos and screen ; the rich bosses and figured capitals illustrate the beliefs and traditions of the church. The various and bewildering styles in choir, nave and transepts are reduced to an orderly sequence by the gradually developed Gothic of the Western Front, which rises stage by stage from the Transitional of the lower story and the great West Door to the Perpendicular of the Western Towers. With the beautiful and original flowing tracery of its great window, the delicate and soaring gables on door, windows and buttresses, this marvellous West Front of York, in spite of its many

styles and tale of builders, has achieved a unity of purpose, a single spirit of aspiration which makes it the noblest and most satisfying Gothic Front in England.

The history of the see is very ancient. There is mention of a Bishop of York at the Council of Arles in 314, and there are further references to Bishops of the see at the Councils of Nicæa, Sardica, and Ariminum, but darkness comes down upon York with the withdrawal of the Legions, and there is even a legend that the Scots burnt it to the ground. But something survived, or rose up again, for we find it later, under Edwin, the centre of the Saxon Heptarchy ; and Gregory the Great, when he recalled the people of England to the ancient citizenship of Rome, remembered Eboracum, for he planned the foundation of two metropolitan sees in the country—Canterbury and York.

Gregory did not live to see the realization of his dream, and it was not until 627 that Paulinus converted Edwin, took possession of his see, and built a timber church dedicated to St. Peter. Edwin very shortly began to build “a larger and nobler church of stone, in the midst whereof that same oratory which he had first erected should be enclosed.” But before it was finished Edwin was assassinated and Paulinus obliged to fly from York. The next Bishop was Wilfrid, the apostle of Sussex, who came in 664, and finished the Saxon basilica, filling the windows, Bede tells us, with glass. In 735 metropolitan rights were established, the dream of Pope Gregory was realized, and York assumed her old position as the

northernmost outpost of Rome. Then began the rivalry with Canterbury, which, when Lanfranc and Thomas of Bayeux had appealed to Gregory VII for confirmation of the liberties of each, was calmed, if not ended, with the diplomacy of a father towards his jealous children, the title of "Primate of England" being conferred upon York and that of "Primate of all England" upon Canterbury.

Archbishop Thomas built the nave of the first Norman church, using the basilica of Wilfrid as his choir. Archbishop Roger rebuilt it in 1171, replacing the Saxon choir with a Norman one, and transepts were added soon after. But the true architectural history of the present church begins in 1260 with the north transept and steeple of John le Romain, then Treasurer of the church. His son, Archbishop John, continued his work, and rebuilt the nave on a grander scale. He began with the lower stories of the West Front, but did not finish, leaving William de Melton to complete both nave and façade forty years later, which goes far toward explaining the difference in styles.

From this time an ambition seemed to seize the builders to surpass all that had gone before in York, or even in England. The nave being now completed in a luxuriant and lofty style, the choir of Archbishop Roger was no longer worthy of the rest. It was too small, and "if compared with the newly erected nave, very rude and disorderly." Archbishop Thoresby accordingly pulled it down, and built the present choir; and the Lady Chapel, with its great window full of figured glass, was

added later still. But the central lantern of John le Romain, which when it was built had dwarfed the Norman church and stirred up the architects of York to emulation, was now found to have become too small and mean a structure for the Cathedral as it stood ; so it too was taken down, and the present fine central tower put up in its place. This was a little put out of countenance by the later addition of the pinnaced western towers. But the Gothic period was now drawing to its close ; the emulative instinct was beginning to fail, and so the building of the Minster came to an end.

It was this constant desire to surpass the work already done which was responsible for the faulty proportions of York choir and nave, for the over-large though most beautiful windows, and the unsatisfactory outline. But even here, ambition was checked by fear and timidity, for in raising a Minster of unrivalled dimensions, the builders lost heart before the task of vaulting over so wide a span with stone, and compromised with an imitated vault of wood. So after all, the genius of the Yorkshire architects stopped short of sublime achievement ; they failed, just as later the "Pilgrims of Grace," on the verge of toppling over the throne of the great Tudor tyrant, stopped short within an ace of victory, let their opportunities slip away, and were compelled at last to see their leaders most cruelly put to death, their liberties taken from them, and the proud city of York reduced to the position of a shire town.

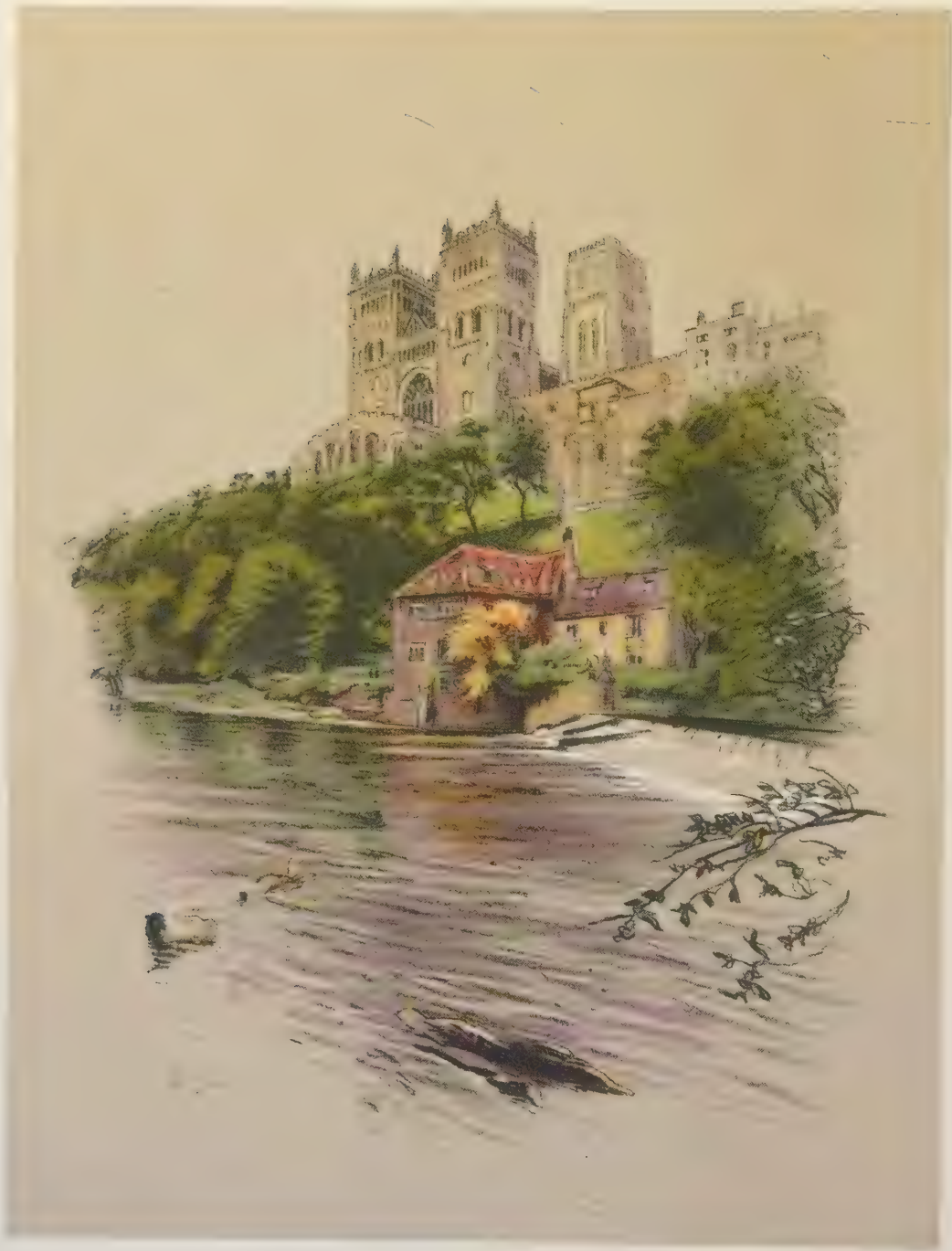
However, York recovered quickly her commercial

prosperity, and preserved her monuments, even through a six weeks' siege in the Civil War. That she cared for the relics of her past is certain, for when surrender was made to Fairfax, it was stipulated that the churches should be left untouched, and the present state of the city proves that the agreement was kept. To-day we may pass within the mediæval walls through the Roman arch in the Micklegate Bar, cross the Ouse by the Lendal Bridge, and follow the line of the mediæval streets to the Cathedral. We may read the history of St. William of York and St. Cuthbert of Durham in the mediæval glass of the so-called eastern transept. Thanks to prompt action on the part of the citizens, we may look on Gothic nave and choir, preserved and restored in spite of two disastrous fires during the last century. We may marvel at the beauty of the Chapter House, with its Decorated windows and conical roof, its curious carvings of animals and flowers, its splendid door; and we may still read in Saxon characters beside its doorway the comment of an admiring stranger of long ago:—

“Ut Rosa Flos Florum
Sic est Domus ista Domorum.”



YORK MINSTER: THE HORN OF ULPHUS



DURHAM CATHEDRAL

DURHAM

“I would rather that you should take up my bones, and leave these places, to reside wherever God may send you, than consent in any way to the wickedness of schismatics and so place a yoke upon your necks.”—

BEDE'S LIFE OF ST. CUTHBERT.

A BAND of monks fleeing from the Danes chose the site of Durham Cathedral. To them it was not the one place in the whole of Northumbria where a bishop's throne should stand, nor even a beautiful setting for a church, but merely a great rock, wooded and impregnable, rising above the river Wear; a natural fortress where they might rest secure from attack and build at last a humble shrine for the body of St. Cuthbert, which had been carried from Lindisfarne. But those who visit Durham to-day, and see the great Norman fane towering over the city, find it difficult to believe that they were guided solely by instincts of preservation; fear might have discovered retreats more remote and possibly more strongly guarded without leading them to the most majestic and inspiring of all. And tradition appears to support this view; for men say that one of the monks was told in a vision of a place called Dunholme where their wanderings were to end, and that they pressed on until the chance remark of a woman, searching for a lost cow, led them to it. True or false as this account may be, there is to-day the figure

of a Dun Cow carved on one of the Towers, and the Cathedral itself, which has arisen from the first chapel of boughs, though it certainly recalls the description—

“Half church of God, half castle ’gainst the Scot”
suggests that there was more of destiny than of chance determination in its origin.

It is not for nothing that Cuthbert is the patron saint of Durham ; for the history of the Cathedral and of the diocese is summed up and explained by the story of his life and death. Succeeding St. Aidan as Bishop he ruled from Lindisfarne, and at his death was buried in the monastic church, his body being found incorrupt when the tomb was opened eleven years later. During the Danish invasions of the ninth century Bishop Eandulf, mindful of the Saint’s dying words, took up the body and carried it with him to Chester-le-Street, where he placed his throne, and where his successors remained for nearly a hundred years. But in 995 another Danish force, commanded by Sweyn, menaced the safety of the monks, who set out once more bearing the coffin, and after many tribulations, reached Durham. Then began that long procession of kings and nobles, priests and peasants, eager to lay their petitions before the tomb or to satisfy a pardonable if not edifying curiosity with regard to the preservation of the body ; a procession that brought wealth and power, enabling the bishops to extend their possessions, and build and embellish the Cathedral.

Almost as soon as the monks had erected the little wooden chapel of St. Cuthbert, the countryfolk flocked

to it, and settling in the neighbourhood, laid the foundations of the city. In a very short time wood was replaced by stone ; then Aldhun, newly appointed to the see, raised a more worthy Cathedral on which "all the people between the Coquet and the Tees three years were at work and were paid for their pains with treasure in heaven." But the new church survived only a few generations ; the march of William the Conqueror to the north caused a hasty flight—yet again with the body of St. Cuthbert—to Lindisfarne, and when the bishop returned unmolested, the day of Saxon architecture was drawing to a close. Fittingly enough, the last scene to hold the attention of a chronicler took place before the patron's tomb. William, with less faith than had King Canute (who walked the last five miles of his journey barefoot), but with more curiosity, ordered the coffin to be opened and threatened that if he found the body corrupt the leading men of Durham would be put to death. This threat was sufficiently alarming, as the monks, of course, had not opened the tomb for many generations, and had no reason to hope that the phenomenon had continued. During the preliminary Mass, however, the King was so affected by the heat that he arose from his place and left the church ; the order was rescinded, and the shrine of the saint remained undisturbed until the demolition of the building.

Bishop Carileph, a militant prelate who is said to have determined upon the building of a new Cathedral while wandering among the churches of Normandy, an exile

from the court of William Rufus, laid the foundation stone of the present building in 1093, and saw the raising of the choir walls and the first bay of the nave before his death three years later. The work was continued by Bishop Flambard, who advanced the nave, aisles, and western towers so far that the Cathedral was ready for consecration in 1104.

While preparing a place to receive it permanently, Carileph had erected a shrine for the body of St. Cuthbert in the cloister garth, "with a goodly and very large, and great, thick image of stone . . . in form and fashion as he was accustomed to say Mass." But when the time came for translation a discussion began in the Chapter over the tradition of incorruption, and, since no man living was able to give direct evidence, it was decided to exhume the body for examination.

A leather-bound chest was found to contain the coffin wrapped in a coarse linen cloth as Bede had described it; whereupon they removed the lid and saw "the venerable body of the blessed father . . . lying on its right side, wholly entire and flexible in its joints." The discovery was reported to Bishop Flambard, who satisfied himself as to its truth the following night, and later invited a number of prelates to make a third investigation. On that occasion, the Abbot of Seez is said to have removed the coverings from the head and examined the body thoroughly.

The reports that spread among the people after the opening and translation of the tomb gave a further

stimulus to pilgrimage, which in turn swelled the funds of the Cathedral and allowed the builders to proceed without delay or anxiety. By the end of the twelfth century little of the original plan awaited completion ; the Norman nave with its massive pillars and round-headed clerestory windows had been spanned by the stone-vaulted roof, which is to-day the only one of its kind in England ; the western towers had been carried to the level of the roof ; the choir begun by Carileph had been left, a graceful example of the transition from Norman to Gothic ; and at the East End had been added the Early English Galilee, where stands the tomb of the Venerable Bede. So, when Bishop Richard Poore, already famous as the founder of New Sarum, was appointed to Durham, he devoted himself to extensions and adornment. The Chapel of the Nine Altars, designed after the eastern apsidal walls had been declared unsafe, is his in conception if not wholly in execution. Later Bishops perfected this Chapel to form a new setting for St. Cuthbert's tomb, and after the merging of the Decorated style into a later Gothic form, Perpendicular windows were inserted and the central tower built.

The Scottish wars made Durham a military centre, the Bishops feudal lords. But though the castle once fell to the Scots the Cathedral suffered no greater damage than was inflicted by the despoilers of the monasteries under Henry VIII. By them vestments and plate were seized, the rich shrine of the Venerable Bede destroyed. It was the tomb of St. Cuthbert, however, that focused

attention as it had done at nearly every other period in the history of Durham. The Commissioners at first followed their usual procedure in the desecration of a shrine, and after a careful and characteristic removal of exterior valuables, the outer chest was broken open with a smith's hammer. According to a contemporary account "they found him lying whole, uncorrupt with his face bare and his beard as a fortnight's growth . . . Dr. Henley stepped up to him and handled him, and found he lay whole . . . whereupon the visitors commanded him to be carried into the revestry, till the King's pleasure concerning him was further known ; and upon the receipt thereof the prior and monks buried him in the ground, under the place where his shrine was exalted."

This was not the last examination of the tomb. In 1827 yet another exhumation took place in private, probably with a view to ending controversy on the subject once and for all. On this occasion, however, a skeleton was revealed. Fragments of robes not unlike those described by the chronicler of the opening in 1104 were found also, but these lay with, not around the bones, and helped to prove that the skeleton was perfectly dry when it was placed in the coffin. Several objects to which reference had been made in previous reports were missing, however, notably the linen sheet in which the Commissioners had ordered the body to be buried.

On the evidence thus furnished it has been assumed generally, not only that the mediæval monks imposed upon the credulity of the people by asserting the miraculous

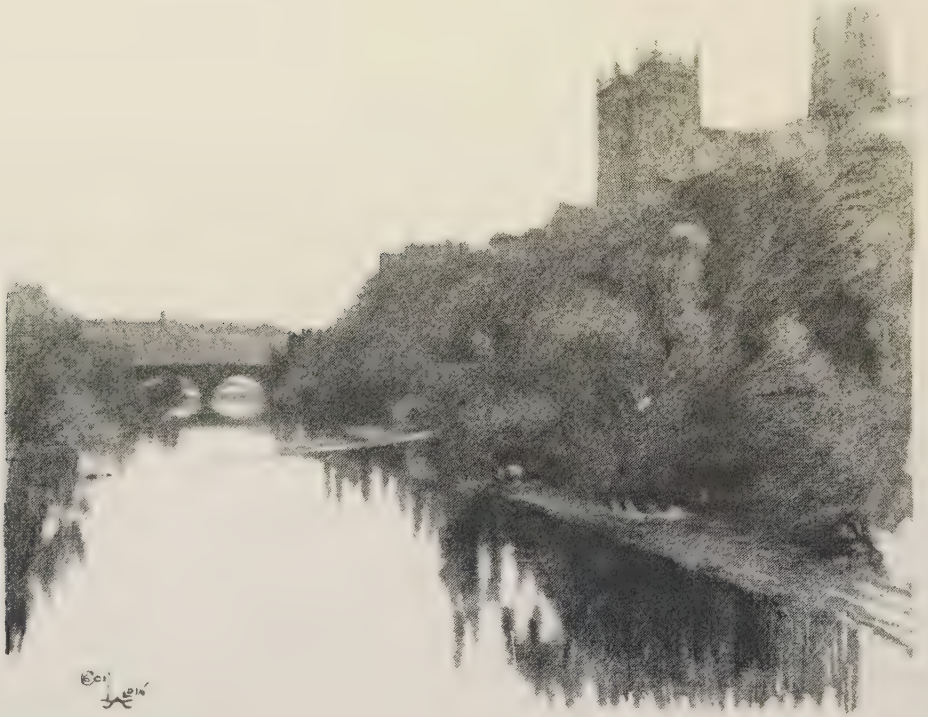
preservation of the body, but also that a later claim that it had been buried secretly in another part of the Cathedral was finally disproved. But the mystery that surrounded the tomb after the Reformation has yet to be dispelled. For the belief that the Benedictine monks possess a secret plan of the Cathedral on which is marked the actual resting-place of the Saint's body is held to this day, and it is certainly a fact that a tradition exists among them, known to three of their number and passed on orally from generation to generation.

Without hearing the arguments advanced by both parties to the dispute—and the most expert journalist in Fleet Street would find it difficult to secure a definite statement from either—it is quite impossible to be dogmatic. But certain points brought out by comparing the reports of 1537 and 1827 make it clear that the true facts are known only partially by the general public. For one thing, the former states explicitly that the goldsmith who opened the tomb broke one of the legs with his hammer; the latter that the bones, though disjointed and detached from one another, were all perfect. Moreover, in 1827 a hole was found in the masonry at the end of the vault filled with loose stones; this suggesting that the grave had been disturbed at some period intervening. Thus there is reason for believing that the body, corrupt or incorrupt, was removed from the tomb after the orders of the Visitors had been carried out, and another substituted for it. On the other hand, one may reject the earlier description altogether, accepting instead

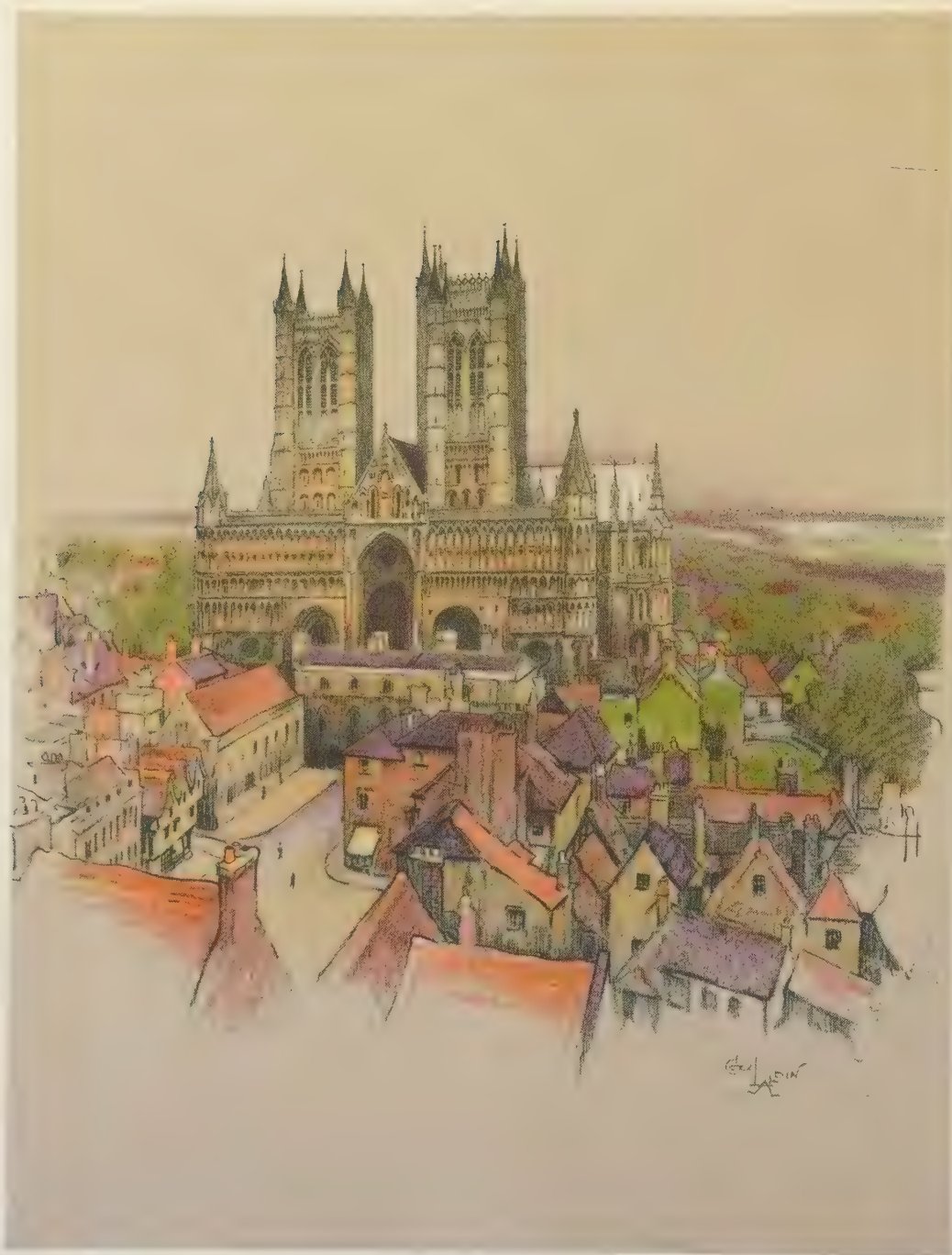
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the circumstantial evidence presented later. The wise men will suspend judgment until the turn of future events leads either to the revelation of the secret or to incontrovertible proof as to the identity of the skeleton.

At all events, the controversy, in whatever way it terminates, has this value—that it centralizes the history of Durham as surely as devotion centralized it in the Middle Ages, about the tomb of Cuthbert.



DURHAM CATHEDRAL



LINCOLN CATHEDRAL

LINCOLN

"He said, 'If these were silent the very stones would cry out.' With these words He called up all the wealth of artistic creation that has been founded on this creed. With these words He founded Gothic Architecture."—G. K. CHESTERTON.

LINCOLN is a town of much history but of scanty records, especially of its early days. We know that *Lindum Colonia* was a place of importance in Roman Britain, but we know little more. It was obviously of importance in Saxon times, a city when St. Paulinus converted the province, and it was one of the Five Boroughs of the Danes. The Normans were quick to perceive its advantage, for they instantly fortified it. But beyond these facts, and an occasional account of a battle, the chronicles are silent. The true records of Lincoln must be looked for in her own walls, and in the numerous Roman, Saxon, and mediæval buildings, that yet remain to attest her ancient grandeur : in the Newport Arch, which, if it is indeed a gateway, is the only one of Roman workmanship remaining in England ; in the Saxon church towers of St. Peter-le-Gowts and St. Mary-le-Wigford ; the Norman Keep, the Gates, the gabled buildings, and above all in the splendid Cathedral, the seat of a Bishopric that once stretched from the Humber to the Thames, and which is still, although three other dioceses have been carved out of it, the largest of the English Church to-day.

Lincoln Cathedral is our treasure-house of Early English styles, as Exeter is of Decorated. A gradual development is evident in St. Hugh's choir, the earliest pure Gothic choir built in England, the grouped lancets of the transepts, the rich early English arcading of the West Front, and finally, the transition to Geometrical of the beautiful Presbytery, or Angel Choir. Very little of the Norman Church remains, even in plan, and Perpendicular work is apparent only in the inserted windows of the West Front, and the upper stories of the three magnificent towers.

The Cathedral has no earlier history than Norman, since the seat of the diocese was at first at Stow, in the north, then at Dorchester in Oxfordshire in the extreme south ; it was not moved to Lincoln until the time of Bishop Remigius, the first Norman Bishop, who started building on the present site in 1085. But in 1125 his church was much damaged by fire and his tomb wrecked by the fall of the roof ; and although the building was patched up and repaired, an earthquake completed the destruction of it not much later. Lincoln Cathedral then lay desolate for nearly sixteen years until Henry II was persuaded to appoint Hugh, Prior of Witham, to the Bishopric. The new Bishop found nothing but a neglected ruin, and was obliged to pull down the remaining walls before he could begin to build.

St. Hugh stands first among the Bishops of Lincoln as administrator and builder, and first among the Bishops of his time for saintliness of life. He was courageous

enough to resist and rebuke the terrible Plantagenets, and he was lovable enough to do it with impunity. Henry II curbed his fierce will and modified his rages before the witty and gentle Hugh. Richard I suffered his reproaches, and even heeded them at times. King John the usurper and oppressor helped to bear the coffin of the dead Bishop to the humble corner that he had chosen as a resting-place.

It is curious that St. Hugh has not been celebrated in the many novels of this half-legendary time. Perhaps his figure is too practical, too clearly outlined for the romancer ; yet his Cathedral City was not twenty miles east of Sherwood Forest, where the bold outlaw, who is the theme of all tales and ballads dealing with that time, carried on his benevolent thieving. The active Bishop, as intent on upholding the rights of the poor in the administration of the law as Robin Hood was in the breaking of it, must at least have known of the existence of the outlaws, since they dwelt just over the borders of his diocese.

The Bishop's golden shrine is gone from the Presbytery, but the choir de Noyers built at his direction remains as his true monument. Although the design obviously owes much to Canterbury, it is marked with originality in the complete absence of the Romanesque arch, the use of detached shafts whenever possible, the fine double arcade in the triforium, and the freedom of modelling in capital and cornice. A semi-circular apse was built at the same time, which was replaced in 1281

by the present Presbytery, or Angel Choir ; transepts and nave were completed by succeeding bishops, and the lantern of the central tower was built by Bishop Grosseteste. The most notable examples of the Decorated period now to be seen at Lincoln are the two circular windows in the end walls of the main transept, the Bishop's Eye and the Dean's Eye, which are both filled with old glass. There is a local legend that the Bishop's Eye, which is a most beautiful example of flowing tracery, was built by an apprentice, whose master, on observing that his own effort, the Dean's Eye, had been far surpassed, killed him in a fit of jealousy. But this is disproved by the evident fact that nearly a hundred years elapsed between the building of the two.

Another local legend which would seem unfortunately to be without foundation is that of Robert Grosseteste's bold defiance of the Pope. Grosseteste, who ruled over Lincoln in the reign of Henry III, was one of the greatest minds of the thirteenth century, the friend and patron of Roger Bacon, and himself a scientist of such ability as to be popularly looked upon as a magician. He was also a classical scholar and an eminent theologian, and as bold in attacking abuses as St. Hugh himself. With regard to royal aggressions, he took much the same line as St. Thomas à Becket ; with regard to Papal aggressions, he acted in accordance with a strict sense of justice, and, strangely enough, his complaints seem always to have had a hearing at the Papal court. He died at peace with his King and his Church, and his immediate

successors honoured his memory with a stately tomb ; desecration and neglect came afterwards, in the religious upheaval of the sixteenth century.

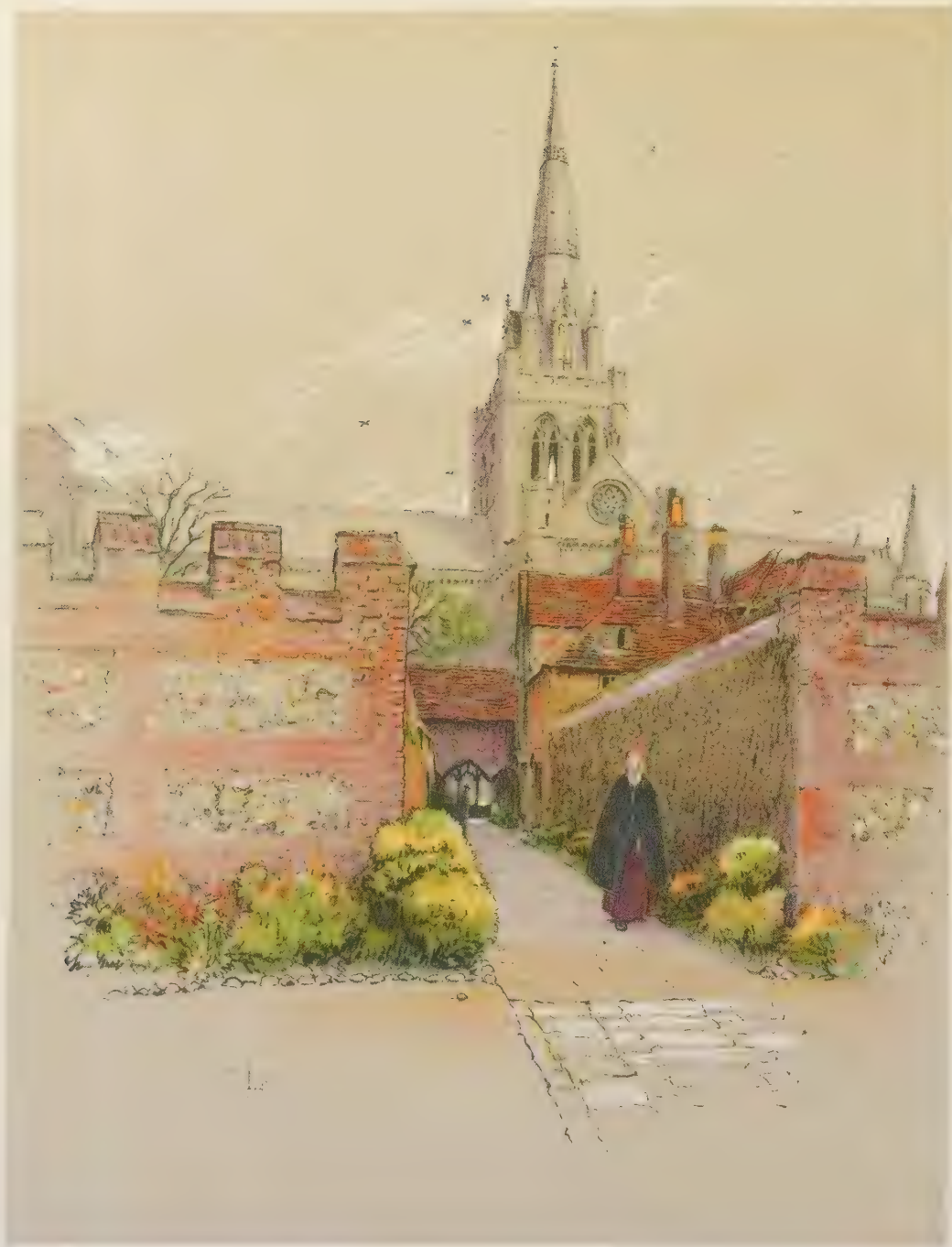
Lincoln did not submit very tamely to drastic changes made by the Reformers. In the history of the southern towns we do not hear of much protest or resistance, but the spirit of the north is quick. Lincolnshire rose in rebellion ; but her attempt, though it set Yorkshire aflame, and led directly to the Pilgrimage of Grace, proved abortive, and the townsfolk, who had heartily supported the rebellion, were forced to witness the spoliation of their Cathedral according to plan.

In the Civil War Lincoln was again a battleground, and the victorious Roundheads, a little sated perhaps with the smashing of glass and the breaking open of graves, proposed the demolition of the Cathedral. But this proposal was defeated. In the end, the building suffered less than many of its sisters, and even the Chapter House and cloisters were left to natural decay.

The cloisters, which are Decorated, were probably considered pretentious when they were first erected, since Lincoln Cathedral has always been served by secular canons, and therefore had no real need of a cloister walk or garth. Their peculiarity is that the windows are groined in wood instead of stone. The northern side is the work of Sir Christopher Wren, who replaced the walk destroyed in the fifteenth century, and built over it a very good library. Taken as a whole, the cloisters are not very impressive, and all the distinction of this group

of buildings is centred in the decagonal Chapter House, with its high conical roof and long projecting buttresses.

Lincoln is rich in monumental fragments, in good sculptures and decorative carving, but nothing need be said here of the fine figures of angels in the Angel Choir, accompanied by the famous Imp, of whom representations may be seen all over the surrounding country. St. Hugh himself still surmounts the south turret of the West Front, balanced by the figure of the Swineherd of Stow, of whom the legend is that he gave a peck of silver pennies to the building of the Cathedral. There is another statue of the Saint of Lincoln far to the south of the diocese he ruled, among the restored sculptures in the steeple of the Church of St. Mary the Virgin at Oxford. Here the Swan is his companion, to perpetuate the story of the faithful bird, who followed him and guarded him with the devotion of a dog ; and to express the care and tenderness with which he guarded his diocese, defending it even from the rapacity of the Plantagenet Kings. Lincoln inherited his spirit, and did all she could to guard his shrine ; she failed in that, but at least she has preserved his memory untarnished, and his Cathedral in the main unharmed by the passing of years.



CHICHESTER CATHEDRAL

CHICHESTER

*"The heathen kingdom Wilfrid found
Dreams, as she dwells, apart."*

RUDYARD KIPLING.

REGNUM, where Chichester now stands, was, in Roman Britain, an important town on the military road which connected London with Portsmouth ; after the Saxon invasion, it became merely an important town in Sussex. The Romans saw England as a whole, and their towns were units in a system ; the Anglo-Saxon invasions, on the other hand, were piecemeal, for the raiders acted independently of each other, and settled where they conquered. Thus Sussex became a separate kingdom bounded by the sea and the Andredsweald, and the idea of England as a geographical unity was obliterated ; a fact that has given the county a local life and a local tradition for more than a thousand years, so that the personality of "Seely Sussex" praised by Kipling and Belloc is much more vivid than the artificial personality created by Thomas Hardy for Wessex.

It was not until the Norman Conquest that a temporal ruler again carried out a definite plan of centralization. Yet during the intervening centuries the Church did not forget the lesson of the Cæsars, but applied them in a way that adds point to J. R. Green's remark that the

coming of St. Augustine was the return of the Roman legions. From the sixth century onwards England was regarded as one ecclesiastical province ; and under Augustine, Birinus, Wilfrid, and Theodore, kingdom after kingdom was converted until all were united in the service of a king. Sussex, although so near a neighbour to Kent, was among the last to renounce paganism, commencing its Christian history in the seventh century under Wilfrid of York.

The story is told that Wilfrid was persuaded to visit Sussex by the remembrance of an adventure some thirty years earlier, when the ship in which he was crossing from France grounded near Selsey, and was not refloated until a desperate encounter with the unfriendly Sussex men had ended in a victory for the crew. But in fact, at this time, Sussex was practically the only kingdom that would give him shelter, for a quarrel with Theodore over the division of the diocese of Northumbria had resulted in his imprisonment and subsequent expulsion by King Egfrith, and Ethelred of Mercia was unwilling to have the exile at his court. So Wilfrid made his way to Sussex, where he was well received by Ethelwarch, a recent convert, and given a grant of land at Selsey for the erection of a Cathedral.

Christianity was not unknown to the South Saxons, who had already given two bishops to the Church—Deusdedit of Canterbury and Damian of Rochester—and Wilfrid, by teaching the rude people of the coast the art of sea-fishing, so Bede tells us, “gained the affections of

all, and they began to expect celestial profit when he preached, because by his ministry they had already received temporal profit." Thus a practical fisher of men set about his task, and in a few years had the happiness of seeing the boundaries of Sussex become the boundaries of a new diocese.

Of his Cathedral we have no certain relics. The interesting Saxon carvings at Chichester may have been brought thence, but old Selsey has yielded to the encroachment of the waves, and the fishermen say that its bells ring out from under the water, two miles from the shore. But at the Conquest Stigand moved the Bishop's throne to Chichester, and the Roman town became once more a unit in a Roman system. Plans were not made immediately for the building of a new Cathedral. For a while the Abbey Church of St. Peter served that purpose, but with the accession of the third Norman Bishop, Ralph de Luffa, the work was put in hand and completed in 1123, a serious fire six years after the first consecration in 1108 having necessitated extensive rebuilding. Ralph's work is traceable to-day, but, although the triforium remains as he left it, the greater part of the nave has lost its Norman character in the alterations carried out by Bishop Seffrid after the second fire in 1186.

Seffrid was one of two who left their mark most clearly on the walls of Chichester Cathedral, as St. Wilfrid and St. Richard of Wych have dominated its history, for, says Fuller, he bestowed "the cloth and

making on the Church, while Bishop Sherburne gave the lace and trimming thereof." Seffrid's chief work, apart from the clerestory and the substitution of a vaulted roof for de Luffa's wooden one, was the building of the retro-choir, which just avoids a discord with the Romanesque choir, but is nevertheless one of the finest specimens of the Transitional style in England. It is interesting to note that, although the pointed arch has been used throughout in the lancet windows, the pier arches, and the piercing of the triforium arcade, yet the containing arches of the triforium are round-headed, to bring them into line with the Norman triforium of the choir.

Here was the shrine of Saint Richard de Wych, the friend of St. Edmund of Canterbury, and this beautiful spot was once the most famous place of pilgrimage in Sussex. There is now no trace at all of jewelled tomb, or of the altar that stood at its head.

Seffrid's successors carried on his plans, raising the central tower, widening the nave and completing the West porch and the Lady Chapel. The addition of a stone spire to the tower in the same century, however, showed that the builders were unable to take a lesson from the collapse of the central tower at Winchester. The piers of the Romanesque lantern were obviously not adequate to the extra weight ; for the Normans were not so solid in their building as appeared, and they would probably not have reckoned for a spire of stone, since they made their own usually of wood, of the type so

frequently found on the fine village churches of Sussex. One can only wonder that the tower did not fall until 1861, when the present one was put up by Sir Gilbert Scott, a careful reproduction of the first, which, Professor Willis concluded after an examination of the ruins, had been hanging over the church like a Damocles' sword for hundreds of years.

The spire in any case was not logical in English Gothic, and it has been suggested that its origin was in religious symbolism and not in architectural necessity. The separate bell-tower at Chichester, which is, by the way, the only one standing in this country, seems to illustrate the fallacy, since its function should normally be contained in the plan of the church, and not outside it.

St. Richard of Wych, who was appointed to the see in 1245, played an important part in the work of building, although his influence was chiefly posthumous. He was pupil of St. Edmund Rich at Oxford, his Chancellor at Canterbury, and his companion in exile, and was a studious, patient, and humble man, very austere in his life and untiring in the labour of his episcopate. Appointed in defiance of the wishes of Henry III, Richard found himself homeless in his own diocese, debarred from entering his Cathedral, and was forced to retire to Tarring, where he remained for two years, ministering quietly to the people in the surrounding villages. During this time, however, the Cathedral was not neglected; if Richard could not have access to it, he could at least keep interest in it alive and appeal for

“Richard’s Pence,” that it might be maintained. Even after his death, this aid was continued by the people, for liberal offerings were made in memory of the saintly Bishop by pilgrims to his tomb.

The addition of Sherburne’s “trimming and lace” was made only a few years before Thomas Cromwell’s act of spoliation at St. Richard’s Shrine, the Bishop’s rule having commenced in 1508. His work included the building of an altar screen and choir stalls, and the commissioning of an Italian artist named Bernardi to decorate the walls and vaulting. In 1817 most of this decoration was covered up with whitewash. A large picture in the north transept with imaginary portraits of the Bishops of Chichester, from Wilfrid to Sherburne, is perhaps the best known of Bernardi’s paintings. In appraising it critics have made use of every adjective, from “exquisite” to “worthless,” so the individual must be left to form his own opinion. But it does prompt a wish that his designs on the vaulting had been left to give a greater warmth to the Cathedral interior.

Except for the re-building of the central tower after the disaster of 1861, constructive work at Chichester ceased with the death of Bishop Sherburne. Instead there followed an orgy of destruction when the church was ransacked, the altars stripped and broken and the shrines destroyed ; a scene that was to be repeated by the Parliamentary soldiers under Waller, who left neither cushion for the pulpit nor pipe for the organ. It is not difficult to realize how thoroughly these iconoclasts

carried out the orders of their masters, for the chronicle of nearly every Cathedral contains a lament for treasures seized or shattered ; indeed, when one has visited several, the remark that Somerset pillaged at one period, while Cromwell's soldiers "did after their kind" at another, becomes monotonous in its regularity. But Chichester was really more fortunate than many Cathedrals, for the fabric itself was uninjured and thus managed to preserve its identity with the architectural styles of four periods.

To-day, Chichester presents the appearance rather of a lofty parish church than of a Cathedral, though the Lady Chapel is large enough to form a separate church, while the width of nave and aisles—greater than that of any other cathedral except York—adds dignity to the gracefulness of the spire. In a way this appearance is in character, for its history and significance is a link between town and kingdom, between throne and diocese ; in short, between Chichester and Sussex. More than most, the Cathedral expresses the part played by early missionaries in unifying England, and stands as an eternal monument to their peaceful conquest.



